

African Americans in South Florida: A Home and a Haven for Reconstruction-era Leaders

by Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr.

Dating from 1528 when the slave Estevanico landed at Tampa Bay with the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition, African Americans have contributed substantially to South Florida's rich and diverse heritage. Unfortunately, memories of their lives and efforts too often have dimmed or flickered to extinction when placed in the care of historians of previous generations who sought to justify or, at least, not challenge Jim Crow society and its reading of the past. Compounding the problem, South Florida has grown so dynamically during the past century that wave after wave of newcomers has arrived with little understanding that permanent settlers toiled to make their livings in the area long before Henry Plant's railroad tracks entered Tampa in 1883 or Henry Flagler's trains arrived at isolated Miami thirteen years later.¹

Two aspects of South Florida's African American history may prove especially surprising to today's residents. During Florida's Reconstruction period and, in some cases, for decades thereafter, black leaders held public office in the region, participating in decisions and political initiatives that had state and national, as well as local, implications. Further, as restrictions upon black political involvement became increasingly severe after the late 1880s, South Florida offered a home and retirement haven to some of the state's most-dynamic black leaders. Just as do today's retirees, they came to love the area, where their remains rest to this day.

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To set the context for the story of South Florida's nineteenth-century African American political leadership, perhaps a brief historical and demographic overview might prove helpful. The Civil War ended in 1865, but not until the advent of Congressional or Military Reconstruction in 1867 were Florida's adult black males afforded the vote and a chance to participate in the state's political life. Republican rule then commenced in the summer of 1868 and lasted until January 1877. Subsequently, African American leaders strove for over a decade to regain their lost statewide power, while exercising substantial influence within many municipal governments. Passage of a state poll tax in 1889 thereafter effectively undercut their base of support and presaged black disfranchisement.²

South Florida at the time of Reconstruction comprised all of the peninsula's southern half, organized as the counties of Hillsborough, Polk, Brevard, Manatee, Dade and Monroe. In 1880 their combined population totalled only about 25,000. Of that number over 40 percent resided in Monroe County where lay the state's largest city, Key West. Blacks made up just under 20 percent of the regional total, ranging from a low of 4 percent in Polk and Manatee counties to 26 and 29 percent, respectively, in Dade and Monroe. In the succeeding two decades area population quadrupled, in recognition of which legislators carved out new counties of Osceola, DeSoto and Lee. Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century approximately 96,000 individuals called South Florida home. African American population totals had climbed by then to 22 percent, with Hillsborough, Polk, Dade and Monroe exceeding the average. In Monroe's case, 32 percent of the 1900 population total represented black residents.³

From the vantage point of the first year of the new century, African Americans in South Florida could look back upon thirty-three years during which members of their race had held some, and sometimes numerous, political offices in the area. The era had opened after the passage of the Congressional Reconstruction acts in 1867 with the appointment of three-man boards of voter registrars for each county, one of whose members had to be black. State registrar Ossian B. Hart named the respected Washington Clarke to Monroe's board. In Polk he turned to ex-slave Stepney Blount Dixon, for Manatee he chose Robert Taylor (1867) and Union army veteran John Lomans (1868), and in Hillsborough he placed Frederick Newberry on the panel. For Dade, where but fifteen individuals (two of whom were African Americans)

would register to vote in 1867, he asked Key West's future postmaster Nelson Francis deSales English to serve.⁴

From these beginnings black political involvement blossomed in South Florida. The liberal Florida constitution drafted in 1868 permitted the governor to appoint virtually all county officials except for constables and state legislators. From 1868 until the Democratic Redemption of 1877, Republican governors Harrison Reed, Ossian B. Hart, and Marcellus Stearns designated hundreds of African Americans to local positions. Although Polk, Manatee and Brevard counties saw no African Americans called into county office, the story evolved differently elsewhere in South Florida. In Hillsborough County five black men sat on the county commission, including Mills Holloman, Cyrus Charles, Robert Johnson, John Thomas and Adam Holloman. At one time in 1871 they comprised the body's majority. Meanwhile, Frederick Newberry and Peter W. Bryant presided as justices of the peace. In Dade, Andrew Price sat as county commissioner during 1869-1873 and again from 1874-1876.⁵

Monroe County deserves individual attention due to the numbers and prominence of its African American officials. By gubernatorial appointment, James D. English, Benjamin W. Roberts and Robert W. Butler served on the county commission and, during 1874-1877, James A. Roberts executed the responsibilities of sheriff. Local voters also placed black leaders in office. They elected James A. Roberts and Charles Brown as county constables in the early 1870s. Even after Reconstruction ended, they persisted in favoring some black candidates. In 1879 Robert Gabriel represented the county in the state legislature, as did Charles Shavers in 1887. In 1888 county residents chose the state's first popularly elected black sheriff, Charles F. Dupont, and Florida's only nineteenth-century African American county judge, James Dean. The achievements of Dupont and Dean merit a closer look at these two remarkable individuals.⁶

Sheriff Charles F. Dupont's story reflects a true Horatio Alger rise in life. Born a slave at Tampa on September 3, 1861, he learned carpentry skills from his father Rome Dupont, who had relocated the family to Key West by the Civil War's end. By the mid-1880s the young man had involved himself in the city's Republican organization and, seemingly, also had joined with many fellow islanders in support of the Knights of Labor national labor organization, which had gained significant political influence in Monroe County. Elected sheriff on the

Knights-endorsed Republican ticket in 1888, Dupont served a four-year term in a manner that earned him community respect. On one occasion in 1891 his personal courage and presence of mind saved a prisoner's life from the demands of a local mob. Dupont died at Key West on September 29, 1938.⁷

Judge James Dean's life offers a somewhat more-refined counterpoint to that of Sheriff Dupont. Born at Ocala on February 14, 1858, he attended some of the best of Florida's schools founded after the Civil War for African Americans. Beginning in 1874 he studied at Jacksonville's Cookman Institute, from which he graduated in 1878. By 1883 he had received the degree of Bachelor of Law from Howard University, and, in the following year, he achieved admission to the District of Columbia bar. In 1887 he successfully sought a license to practice in Florida courts. Active in Florida politics from the late 1870s, Dean was described by one correspondent in 1884 as "courteous, thoroughly posted in parliamentary law, and eloquent withal." His 1888 election as Florida's first black county judge provoked demands by white conservatives for his removal from office by Governor Francis P. Fleming. Fleming complied in 1889. As a Key West man put it, "[Dean] was ousted from the position by members of his own party, because of his intelligence and his refusal to be whipped into line, and because he was in their way." Later, Dean practiced law in Key West and Jacksonville. During the period he also joined the clergy of the AME church. He passed away at Jacksonville on December 18, 1914.⁸

While South Florida counties benefitted from the service of men such as Dupont and Dean, two regional towns witnessed black involvement in municipal government. At Tampa, Cyrus Charles achieved election to the town council in 1869, followed by Joseph A. Walker in 1887. Key West's African American officialdom dwarfed that of Tampa. At least ten men—William M. Artrell, Benjamin W. Roberts, Jose Juan Figueroa, James A. Roberts, Robert Gabriel, Charles R. Adams, Frank Adams, Washington A. Cornell, R. M. Stevens and Charles Shavers—labored as aldermen at some time between 1875 and 1907. Additionally, John V. Cornell served as city clerk (1875-1876) and Frank Adams acted as assessor (1886-1887, 1888-1889).⁹

The accomplishments of these men deserve modern recognition and respect, but South Florida played a further and important role in the lives of the state's black leadership by offering the possibility of a

haven from the onset of legally enforced racial discrimination and bars to political participation. That it did so rested upon several foundations: regional race relations patterns; the availability of United States government jobs; and the possibilities for ministers, educators, and other professional men in Florida's largest city and at some other area locations.

As to race relations patterns, the region retained at least some flavor of the more-tolerant racial mores of Spanish colonial Florida. Writing from Tampa in 1857, future Union army general and Freedmen's Bureau head Oliver O. Howard noticed the atmosphere. "Slavery here is a very mild form," he remarked. "You wouldn't know the negroes were slaves unless you were told."¹⁰ Similarly, in 1853 at Key West a newspaper correspondent observed:

The negroes, in a very large proportion [seemingly] outnumber the whites, and are possessed of such freedom as renders their living in juxtaposition a matter almost of impossibility, and the day does not beam far distant in the horizon when the African sceptre will sway supreme.¹¹

Despite incidents of racial violence during and after Reconstruction, the patterns persisted to some extent — particularly in coastal areas, and especially at Key West. When Monroe County voters chose a black county judge and sheriff in 1888, Lemuel W. Livingston boasted to the *New York Age* that Key West was "the freest town in the South, not even Washington excepted." He continued:

There are no attempts at bulldozing and intimidation during campaigns and at elections here. No negroes are murdered here in cold blood, and there are no gross miscarriages of justice against them as is so frequently seen throughout the South, to her everlasting shame and disgrace.

Livingston concluded, "A vigilance committee here would meet with the warmest kind of reception and a ku klux clan would be unceremoniously run into the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic Ocean."¹² Unfortunately, Livingston did not recognize the threat posed at Key West by a minority of white residents who, within a short time, had colluded with

Democratic state officials to oust Judge James Dean from office and to place municipal government for a time in the hands of gubernatorial appointees.¹³ Still, his remarks honestly reflected circumstances as he observed them in 1888.

Even with state government in the hands of white, conservative Democrats after 1876, some government positions remained available for African Americans. Except for President Grover Cleveland's two administrations (1885-1889 and 1893-1897), the White House rested in Republican control until 1913. Party incumbents through the period appointed blacks to offices of responsibility in Florida. Prime jobs included postmasterships, customs service inspectorships and internal revenue service positions.

Other jobs also beckoned. During the late-nineteenth century Baptist and Methodist churches enhanced their positions within the black community, and, reacting to South Florida's tremendous growth, the denominations expanded their networks to encompass new and larger African American congregations in the southern peninsula. Key West and Tampa churches, because of their cities' prominence as the state's largest and soon-to-be largest urban centers, became prestige assignments. Ministers often had emerged to lead Florida blacks in politics, as well as in matters spiritual. The involvement continued after the end of Reconstruction, although another trend became discernable as politicians began moving into the ministry in a search for acceptable alternative employment. Accordingly, South Florida's churches became home for many ex-officeholders from other areas of the state, and Key West and Tampa would host the elite of the political clergy.¹⁴

Finally, South Florida schools and the need for businessmen to service black communities permitted employment to some of Florida's one-time black officeholders. In the former case, Key West's Douglass School provided the most-coveted area position. Founded in 1870, the institution was led in its formative years by Nassau-born educator William Middleton Artrell, who sat on Key West's city council in 1875-1876. Artrell used the Douglass School position as a platform from which to urge the temperance cause upon black and white Floridians. He later served as principal of Jacksonville's Stanton Institute before returning to the island city, where he died in 1903.¹⁵

As Artrell offers an example of politically active educators, Owen B. Armstrong illustrates how former officeholders could retire to a South Florida business. A Pennsylvania-born Union army veteran, Armstrong

fought in Florida during the Civil War and remained in the vicinity of Tallahassee as a teacher and a carpenter. He attended the 1868 constitutional convention as a delegate from Leon and Wakulla counties and occupied a seat on the Leon County commission during 1869-1870. By the mid-1880s he had relocated to Punta Gorda, where on December 7, 1887, he served as one of the town's incorporators. Through the 1890s he conducted a grocery business that catered to white and black customers, and afterward he entered the restaurant business. All the while Armstrong remained a firm activist within the Republican party, attending district congressional nomination conventions, for instance, as late as 1904. He died at Punta Gorda on July 4, 1914.¹⁶

The experiences of the following individuals show how a combination of the factors already mentioned drew many other former officeholders to South Florida and kept a good number of them as area residents.

Alexander C. Lightbourn, Sr.'s journey to the southern peninsula began in Nassau and took him through most of Florida. Born in 1846, he was working twenty-three years later as an assistant teacher in Tallahassee. That year — 1869 — and the following year, he served as sergeant-at-arms of the Florida House of Representatives. Soon Governor Harrison Reed had appointed the young man as a justice of the peace in violent Gadsden County, in which capacity he worked until 1874. At Quincy he helped found the AME church and also emerged as a county Republican leader. Becoming a railroad postal employee in 1877, he remained in Gadsden until the mid-1880s, when he removed his family to Jacksonville. His Republican involvements continued there and evolved into a close association with the Knights of Labor. In the 1890s his work, still probably related to the postal system, took him to Cocoa and Palm Beach.¹⁷

Subsequently, Lightbourn moved to Miami, the intensity of his commitment to public affairs still evident. In 1896 he helped to achieve the incorporation of his new hometown. Almost one half of the men involved in the July 28 incorporation of Miami were African Americans, but, as one diarist recorded of the event, "Lightbourn delivered the best speech."¹⁸ The same year, Lightbourn represented Dade County at the state Republican convention and sat also as its representative on the state Republican executive committee. In 1897 he supervised the "Colored Schools of Miami" and urged local leaders to provide ad-

equate school facilities for black children. Lightbourn was also a founder of the Greater Bethel AME church, Miami's first African-American congregation. At the century's turn he continued to live at the family home on Fourth Street. He died in Miami in October 1908 and is buried there.¹⁹

Unlike Lightbourn, John Willis Menard did not remain in South Florida, but as an area resident he profoundly influenced state and national affairs. Menard was born free at Kaskaskia, Illinois, on April 3, 1838. Educated in local schools and at Iberia College, he labored during the Civil War in the United States Department of the Interior. In 1865 he moved to New Orleans, and voters there elected him to the United States Congress in 1868, although its white membership declined to seat him. Menard became a Jacksonville resident in the early 1870s. He sat in the Florida House of Representatives in 1874 and presided as a Duval County justice of the peace during 1874 to 1877. His book of poems, *Lays in Summer Lands*, was published in 1879.²⁰

By the time Menard's poetry book came into print, Bourbon Democrats were consolidating their control of Florida government and the former legislator found himself seriously in need of employment. Within months of the publication, he accepted a Republican patronage position as inspector of customs at Key West. In 1882 Menard took control of the *Key West News*, later renamed the *Florida News*. As its editor he denounced the Bourbons and advocated the Independent movement's call for coalition of good men from both races. Historian Jerrell H. Shofner has noted, "Menard was the most influential black editor [in Florida] speaking for and to blacks in the 1880s, and his vigorous editorials were aimed at the political, economic, moral, and educational improvement of his race." President Grover Cleveland's administration removed Menard from his Key West customs inspectorship in 1885. He relocated the *Florida News* to Jacksonville and continued it there as the *Southern Leader*. He died at Jacksonville on October 9, 1893, remembered — the *Florida Times-Union* declared — as "a man of brains and education" and "a good friend and wise counsellor to his race."²¹

Willis Menard's South Florida sojourn launched him on a successful career as an editor, but Peter W. Bryant's search for professional standing led him into law. Entering the world in Thomas County, Georgia, on October 18, 1853, he became a Floridian three years later when his family was taken to Tampa. In the Reconstruction days he organized Hillsborough County blacks for the Republican party, and

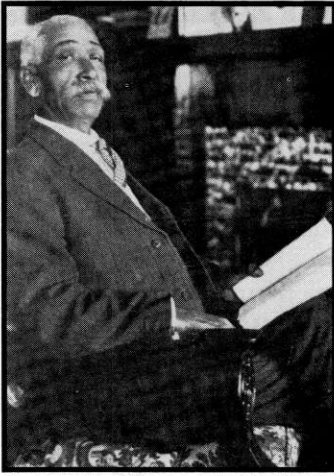
Governor Hart commissioned him a major in the state militia. He attended the Republican national convention as a delegate in 1876 and, eventually, sat on the First District Republican executive committee for twelve years. During 1877 to 1879 he acted as a justice of the peace. Afterward, he achieved a patronage position in the Key West Customs House.²²

Bryant's course shifted once the Democrats regained the White House. During the Cleveland Administration he attended Howard University's law department with the support and encouragement of two South Florida white leaders, Judge James W. Locke of Key West and Joseph B. Wall of Tampa. He graduated in 1889. Bryant returned to Key West, still active in Republican political affairs, and opened a law practice. "The only colored lawyer in the city is Hon. Peter W. Bryant," observed the state's principal African American newspaper in 1895, "a young attorney at the bar, but who is rapidly building up a large practice." The account added: "Mr. Bryant practices in all the courts — State and Federal, and has a large clientage. He is one of the most affable of men, ever ready for a business or social confab and numbers his friends by the hundreds." Poor health limited Bryant's activities after the turn of the century, and he sought medical care in New York City. He died there July 30, 1912, and was returned for burial to Key West.²³

Although Peter Bryant left Hillsborough County in the late 1870s for better prospects at Key West, by the late 1890s growth had opened opportunities that drew numerous former public officials to Tampa. Two, in particular, came to hold federal positions of real authority and would remain in those offices well into the twentieth century.

The first of the two African American officeholders was Joseph Newman Clinton, the son of AME bishop Joseph N. Clinton. He was born at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1854, and graduated from Lincoln University nineteen years later. A teacher by profession, he came to Florida to work in the schools of Alachua County, but he soon accepted a position in the federal land office at Gainesville. Afterward, Clinton worked for a time as an inspector of customs at Pensacola. He won a two-year term on the Gainesville town council in 1883 and claimed a seat in the Florida House of Representatives in 1885.²⁴

Following his legislative tenure, Clinton maintained a political interest while spending time with church, business and educational con-



Joseph N. Clinton, 1854-1927.
(Florida State Archives)

cerns. In 1891 he joined the ministry of the AME church and, the next year, affiliated as well with the AME Zion church. Within four years he had become an AME presiding elder. As a distinguished and proven public servant and civic leader, the administration of President William McKinley turned to him in 1898 to run federal internal revenue collection operations at Tampa. Subsequently, Clinton occupied the position until 1913, when he was dismissed from office by the Democratic administration of President Woodrow Wilson. At the time, the *Tampa Tribune* related of him,

Clinton has been in charge of the office for 15 years, and its patrons give him credit for being efficient and polite. He has handled at least \$10 million of the government's money during his administration, and at no time has there been cause for questioning his honesty.

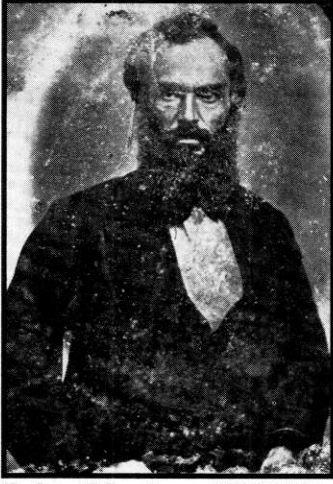
Never to return to federal office, Clinton tended his business investments at Tampa until his death on September 6, 1927.²⁵

Henry Wilkins Chandler's career took a similar path. A native of Bath, Maine, he was born on September 22, 1852. After graduating from Bath High School, he earned a bachelor's degree from Bates College. During 1874 to 1876 he taught at Howard University while pursuing studies there in law. When his course of study was completed, he accepted a teaching position in Ocala. The Pennsylvania native achieved admission to the Florida bar in 1878. Within two years he had won election to the state senate, where he served two four-year terms. Chandler represented Marion County in the Florida constitutional convention of 1885. At Ocala he acted as city clerk in 1883 through 1884 and remained on the town council from 1886 to 1893. The senator attended every Republican national convention from 1884 to 1908 as a Florida delegate. In 1888 he was the Republican party's nominee for Florida secretary of state.²⁶

The availability of a federal patronage position at Tampa caused Chandler's departure from Ocala. In 1908 he accepted appointment as inspector of customs, from which — just as had happened to Joseph N. Clinton — the Wilson administration fired him in 1913. Chandler had purchased property in Tampa and managed it for a number of years. Declining health compelled him in 1926 to relocate to Polk County, where his daughter and son-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. D. J. Simpson, then lived. He died at Lakeland on March 27, 1938, and was buried there. Chandler's obituary in the *Lakeland Evening Ledger and Star Telegram* recognized his accomplishments, while properly noting his service from previous decades in numerous positions of "honor and trust."²⁷

Two other individuals of renown — whose lives intertwined and who rose to positions of great power in Florida — also found themselves South Floridians when their political careers had ended. Each had grounded himself in the AME church; each had built political strength out of the turmoil of Jefferson County politics; and each arbitrarily would be frustrated in his desire to represent the state in the United States Congress. And, the memory of each would be revered among Florida's African American community.

Robert Meacham held position at the forefront of Florida's political scene when George Washington Witherspoon yet remained a boy. Meacham had been born in May 1835, his mother a slave and his father a white Gadsden County physician and planter. Asked later of his status before emancipation, he observed, "I do not know how to answer that exactly, for my father was my master and always told me that I was free." Learning to read and write from his father, young Meacham emerged from the Civil War as Tallahassee's first AME minister. Soon he was transferred to nearby Jefferson County, where ten percent of Florida's registered electorate resided during Congressional Reconstruction. Meacham labored as voter registrar in 1867 and 1868, served in the constitutional convention of 1868, and later in the year took a seat in the Florida Senate. He continued to act as senator until 1879, while also serving at various times as Monticello's postmaster and Jefferson County's clerk of the circuit court and superintendent of schools. On several occasions he was denied the Republican nomination for United States representative only through the chicanery of white carpetbaggers. He survived numerous death threats and at least one attempted assassination.²⁸



Robert Meacham, 1835-1902.
(Florida State Archives)

Following his legislative career, the senator struggled to secure remunerative employment, particularly during the years of the Cleveland administration. By 1887 he was living at Key West, where he ministered to the town's largest black congregation, the Zion AME church. Already, though, Meacham's connection with the AME church had weakened, and, if he had not done so earlier, he then transferred to the AME Zion clergy. That body apparently posted him to Punta Gorda and, in 1888, to Fort Myers. The following year Republican president Benjamin Harrison assumed office, and, at the urging of Punta Gorda founder Isaac Trabue, Harrison in 1890 named Meacham as Punta Gorda's postmaster. Local whites joined in an indignation meeting, and the community newspaper referred to the appointment as a "studied insult to the people of that town." Meacham's stewardship of the local post office soon turned the negative sentiment around. He returned to preaching early in 1892, and the same newspaper later proclaimed that "notwithstanding his color and his politics, he stood high in the esteem of the white people."²⁹

The one-time Republican powerbroker's connections with South Florida persisted after leaving the Punta Gorda post office. By 1894 Meacham was preaching within the "Colored Conference" of the Methodist Episcopal church from an appointment at New Smyrna. While visiting Tampa in 1896 he was gunned down by a black policeman, seemingly because of the minister's support for the policeman's estranged girlfriend. Meacham again survived the attempt on his life but decided not to leave the city. He engaged in business as a shoemaker in West Tampa until his death on February 27, 1902. "Meacham's death," reported the *Punta Gorda Herald*, "is regretted both in Tampa and Punta Gorda."³⁰

George Washington Witherspoon's rivalry with Robert Meacham began because of a split within the AME church. Born in Sumter District, South Carolina, on December 15, 1845, he was brought to Florida by his master at the age of nine. Having lived since that time in Franklin

and Gadsden counties, soon after the Civil War's end he came under the influence of AME presiding elder Charles H. Pearce, who had assumed the Tallahassee AME pulpit when he transferred Meacham to Jefferson County. Soon Pearce and Meacham were "warring" over church leadership and policy, and the presiding elder was grooming Witherspoon as a strong right arm. In 1872 Pearce dispatched his protege to Jefferson County. By his action, the church and political feud was served up on Meacham's doorstep.³¹

Witherspoon's preaching and political skills within a few years destroyed Meacham's career and launched his own quest for a congressional seat. He offered a more-aggressive approach to religion and politics and stirred passions that Meacham no longer could kindle. "Witherspoon [became] the most popular colored man in the country districts in the state," one newspaper recalled, "and whenever it was announced that Witherspoon would preach anywhere in the state, the roads would be full of women, children, horses, and wagons." He achieved election to the Florida House of Representatives as early as 1874 and sat in the body as late as 1883. In the meantime, in 1880 he probably was elected to the Congress, but a combination of Democratic fraud and carpetbagger duplicity denied him the seat. Angered at Republican whites, within five years he had acquiesced to Democratic Governor Edward A. Perry's legislative seizure of Pensacola's Republican city government. At Perry's appointment, Witherspoon served on the city council until 1889.³²

In the aftermath of his Pensacola experience, Witherspoon set his sights on South Florida. He arranged employment as an inspector of customs at Key West and also secured designation as Meacham's successor as the town's AME minister. Though suffering from ill health, his ministry flourished while he attempted to help African Americans organize statewide resistance to the onset of Jim Crow discrimination and disfranchisement. He died at Key West on January 2, 1892, while his rival Meacham yet served as Punta Gorda's postmaster. "The funeral cortege was the largest ever seen in this city, being fully a quarter of a mile in length," noted a Key West correspondent. "It was headed by the Key West band, which played one of its most solemn funeral dirges." He added, "Three white and three colored ministers acted as pall-bearers." Of a subsequent memorial service held at Jacksonville, a mourner declared, "All are requested to turn out as a mark of respect and honor to this Christian brother and co-worker, who is sadly missed from the ranks."³³

These men made significant contributions to their respective communities in South Florida through and after the Reconstruction period. During their lifetime, some were politicians, entrepreneurs, educators, ministers, and lawyers. They had learned to work with other citizens for the common good of South Florida and the state. Some held influential political positions at the state and local level. Others embraced their communities as public school teachers, business owners, religious leaders and law enforcement officers. Much like these men, others contributed to the building of South Florida during this period. Perhaps most will remain unknown to the public due to the lack of retrievable data, fading memories and simple lack of knowledge of this rich past. Nonetheless, out of “respect and honor,” the preservation of the accomplishments and contributions of them all remains important for our world and for posterity.

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Notes

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Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1994). On Florida government and politics during Redemption, see Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age 1877-1893* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1976).

3. Edward A. Fernald, ed., *Atlas of Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Foundation, Inc., 1981), 130-31; United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Population, Part 1* (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1901), 13; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 778.

4. Ossian B. Hart to J. F. Meline, September 5, 1867, Incoming corr., Third Military District, 1867-68, Bureau of Civil Affairs, Record Group 393, part one, entry 5782, National Archives (hereafter, NA); Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1991), 188; Jeanne E. English, *Nelson Francis desales English, 1848-1914* (Key West, priv. pub., 1991), 3-5.

5. Appointment records are contained, primarily, in Record Group 156, Records of the Department of State, at the Florida State Archives in Tallahassee. See, particularly: Commissions, 1827-1978, series, 259; Appointments, series 1284; Oaths and Bonds, series 622; Removals from Office, 1869-1885, series 261; and Resignations from Office, 1868-1975, series 260.

6. For gubernatorial appointments, see note 5. See, also, Office of the Clerk, Florida House of Representatives, *The People of Lawmaking in Florida 1822-1991* (Tallahassee: Florida House of Representatives, 1991), 35, 87; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine: The Record Co., 1912; reprint ed., Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973), 212; *New York Age*, December 1, 1888.

7. *New York Age*, December 1, 1888; *Tampa Tribune*, July 23, 1995; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 16, 1891, July 13, 1995; *Key West Citizen*, October 3, 1938.

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