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## DESEGREGATING PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MANATEE AND PINELLAS COUNTIES, 1954-71

by Darryl Paulson and Milly St. Julien

Until 1954, Florida, like seventeen other states and the District of Columbia, operated segregated or dual school systems. However, Florida had not always adhered to this policy of segregation. In fact, Florida's Reconstruction Constitution of 1868 and state legislation passed in 1873 called for nondiscrimination in various programs administered by the state. The 1873 law stated that "no citizen of this state shall, by reason of race, color or previous condition of servitude be excepted or excluded from the full and equal enjoyment of any accommodation, facility or privilege furnished by. . . trustees, commissioners, superintendents, teachers and other officers of common schools and public institutions of learning, the same being supported by moneys derived from general taxation or authorized by law."<sup>1</sup> The end of Reconstruction in Florida signalled an end to the policy of nondiscrimination in Florida's schools. A motion at the 1885 Florida Constitutional Convention, demanding that "white children and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but equal provision shall be made for both," passed by a 55 to 38 vote.<sup>2</sup>

The Sunshine State's policy of "separate but equal" schools remained in force until the United States Supreme Court handed down its landmark ruling in *Brown v the Board of Education of Topeka*. In its 1954 decision, a unanimous Supreme Court concluded that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."<sup>3</sup> Response to the Brown decision from Tampa Bay area newspapers and public officials was mixed. The *St. Petersburg Times* supported the ruling and praised the court for the flexibility of the decision. The *Times* was disappointed that no deadline was set for the completion of desegregation, "even if it were years away." Across Tampa Bay, the *Tampa Tribune* vehemently opposed the court's opinion, but cautioned its readers, "There is no need for the people of Florida to be disturbed about what will happen to their schools next term. Nothing will happen." Finally, in Manatee County, J. Hartley Blackburn, the superintendent of schools, also foresaw little impact coming from the *Brown* decision. According to Blackburn, "The School board has built new schools in the Negro districts and the Negro children will continue to attend these schools even with the end of segregation."<sup>4</sup>

Because of the importance and complexity of the *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court asked the Attorney General of the United States and the attorney generals of all the affected states to submit briefs on how to desegregate the schools. Florida Attorney General Richard Ervin called for very gradual desegregation, noting that sufficient time would be needed in order for community attitudes to adjust. Rapid desegregation, Ervin argued, might cause "a tornado which would devastate the entire school system."<sup>5</sup> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) argued for immediate desegregation. In the view of the NAACP, if "separate but equal" schools were unconstitutional, as the court had already declared, then blacks

should not have to postpone the enjoyment of their right to attend integrated schools. In 1955, the Supreme Court issued its implementation decision, known as *Brown II*, and took a position comforting to Florida and the other states with segregated schools. Instead of imposing a deadline for the integration of public schools, the court called upon the affected states to make a “prompt and reasonable start toward compliance.”<sup>6</sup> Francisco Rodriquez, a Tampa attorney working with the NAACP, promised that his organization would monitor school board policies to ensure that the court’s ruling “will not be sacrificed upon the altar of expediency and calculated delay.” The *Tampa Tribune* praised the court’s gradual implementation policy, claiming that it would “dissipate the thunderhead of turmoil and violence which had been gathering in Southern skies since the court held school segregation unconstitutional a year ago.”<sup>7</sup>

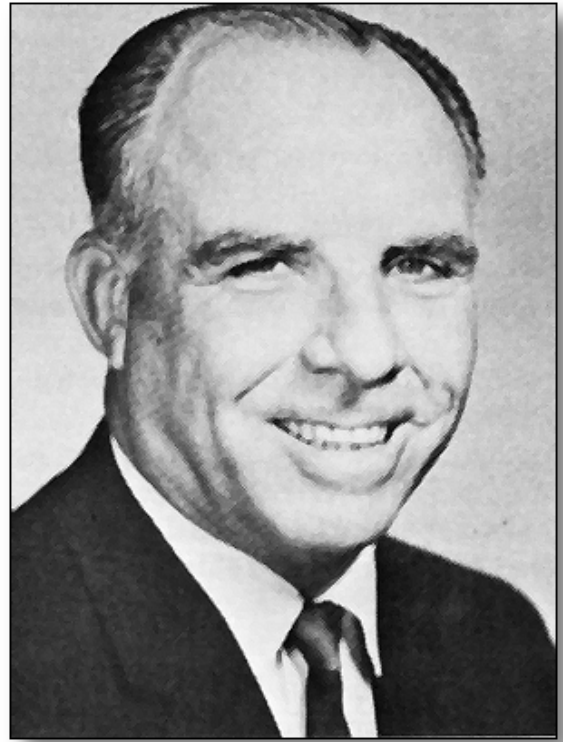
In most cases, the states maintaining segregated schools made no changes or only minor changes in policy. This was true in Florida and all of its county school systems. For example, less than a month after the first *Brown* decision, a group of white residents of Manatee County filed suit with the Florida Supreme Court asking that a \$3 million school bond issue be invalidated because the money was earmarked for segregated schools. Tampa attorney Reese Smith, who would later be elected president of the American Bar Association, represented the plaintiffs who argued that the expenditures would violate the Supreme Court’s opinion in *Brown*. In a six-to-one decision, Florida’s highest court rejected the suit, claiming, “The United States Supreme Court ruling against segregation does not involve the validity of school bonds issued to finance segregated schools.”<sup>8</sup> Pinellas County officials also ignored the *Brown* decision by building seven new schools for black students between 1954 and 1962. Included among the seven schools was Lincoln Heights Elementary in Safety Harbor, build in 1959 after several black families started a petition asking for a school for their children. Prior to the construction of Lincoln Heights, 124 black students had to be bused to Clearwater. Since Safety Harbor already had an elementary school, the \$61,047 spent to construct the Negro school was a high price to pay in order to maintain segregated schools.<sup>9</sup>

From 1954 through 1961, the Pinellas and Manatee school systems remained totally segregated. This was really not unusual for Florida counties, since only five of Florida’s sixty-seven counties had begun token desegregation. The Dade County school system was the first in Florida to break the color line when it integrated one school in September, 1959. By the end of the 1961-62 school year, Broward, Hillsborough, Palm Beach and Volusia counties also had begun token desegregation. In these five counties, only 648 blacks were attending schools with whites, or less than two-tenths of one percent of Florida’s school-age population of blacks.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the pace of desegregation in the Southern states between 1954 and 1961 was so slow that two political scientists estimated that at the existing rate of desegregation it would take 3180 years to integrate Southern schools.<sup>11</sup>

During 1962, Pinellas County took the first steps toward integrating schools. On August 30, 1962, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported that three blacks were attending St. Petersburg Junior College and Tomlinson Adult Education Center. This first step in desegregation received little media coverage. Until 1958, blacks in Pinellas and Manatee counties had no local place to receive a higher education. Gibbs Junior College opened that year with an anticipated enrollment of 100, but actual enrollment was over 500 students.<sup>12</sup> The year 1962 also marked the first desegregation of Pinellas County public schools. On August 27, 1962, parents of seven black

students from Tarpon Springs met with Superintendent Floyd Christian and asked that their children be transferred to “white” schools. Leonard Shiver of the Tarpon Springs NAACP contended that the Negro school, Union Academy, was “grossly inadequate.” In all, eleven black students requested transfer to “white” schools. Out of the eleven requests, only one seventh and two twelfth graders were accepted. Christian said the other eight requests were denied because the students lived closer to black schools. The school board found the charge that the black school was “grossly inadequate” to be unsubstantiated.<sup>13</sup>

By September, 1963, nine Pinellas schools were desegregated, although this represented only seventy-three black students out of a school population of 62,131.<sup>14</sup> The peaceful desegregation led the *Clearwater Sun* to praise the county’s officials and residents for their calm acceptance of integration. According to the *Sun*, “while the Wallaces, Barnetts and Faubuses rattle the swords of racial hatred and discord, it’s comforting to know that we live in a section of the country where students are welcomed and educated in our public schools, not turned away from them by armed troops.”<sup>15</sup>



Floyd T. Christian

The 1964-65 school year started with Manatee County still maintaining a segregated system and Pinellas County engaging in only token desegregation. Throughout Florida, forty-seven of the state's sixty-seven counties were still operating segregated schools. Only 2.65 percent of the Negro students in the “Sunshine State” were attending “mixed classes” compared to a 10.8 percent average in seventeen Southern and border states.<sup>16</sup> Although 754 blacks in Pinellas County were attending “mixed schools,” 338 of these were from Glenoak Elementary which had been transformed from an all-white school to a predominantly black school in only two years due to “white flight.” According to John H. Niemeyer, special consultant to the United States Commission of Education, what happened to Glenoak was not unusual. According to Niemeyer,

By and large, Negro schools have been separate and unequal. When pupils from these schools are added to schools which already have a discouragingly high percentage of youngsters who are not being successfully taught, the desegregated school seems to go down hill overnight. The teachers’ moral plunges to a new low, and white, middle-class parents flee to all-white neighborhoods or send their children to private schools.<sup>17</sup>

The 1964-65 school year was a turning point for the Manatee and Pinellas school systems as a result the 1964 Civil Rights Act which mandated that federal funds be eliminated for school districts which discriminated. For the first time since the *Brown* decision ten years earlier, blacks

in both counties filed suit in federal district court claiming that the counties were still operating segregated schools. The Manatee suit emerged when Caroline Harvest and five other blacks sought and were denied admission to a “white” school. On January 21, 1965, the six black students filed suit in federal district court in Tampa seeking an injunction to prevent Manatee County from operating a “compulsory biracial school system, from continued dual school schemes or patterns of school zone lines based on race, from as signing pupils on the basis of race, from assigning teachers on the basis of race, and from approving contracts, school budgets, policies and curricula and programs designed to perpetuate a racial school system.”<sup>18</sup> Several days later the *Bradenton Herald* described the plaintiffs as “militant elements who thrive on the race question.”<sup>19</sup>

In Pinellas County, five black parents from Clearwater and one from St. Petersburg filed suit in May, 1964. The parents objected to the school board policy which allowed white students to transfer to all-white schools, even when a black school was closer. Blacks, on the other hand, could not attend a white school unless it was the closest to their home. Leon Bradley, Sr., a black police officer from Clearwater and vice president of that city’s NAACP branch, had petitioned the school board to allow his son to attend John F Kennedy Junior High School in Clearwater. Bradley did not want his son to attend the all-black school in Clearwater, since it was a combined junior and senior high. The petition was rejected, and Bradley was forced to enroll his son at Clearwater Catholic. “If they had transferred my kid to JFK,” announced Bradley, “that would have been the end of it.”<sup>20</sup> Representing the black plaintiffs was James Sanderlin, a black attorney who was associated with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. The following month, the Pinellas school board filed a motion for dismissal but, on October 6, 1964, District Court Judge Joseph Lieb denied the school board’s motion. Judge Lieb gave the board three weeks to respond to the complaint.<sup>21</sup>

In their response to the suit, Pinellas officials denied operating a racially segregated school system. They maintained that their practice of sending black students to black schools rather than predominantly white schools was based on the fact that those students lived closer to black schools. The school board’s reply also stated that students were admitted to the county’s special education classes without regard to race. This seemed to be in sharp contrast to a special report by the *St. Petersburg Times* which claimed that only one black student had been admitted to the Nina Harris Exceptional Student Center.<sup>22</sup>

Judge Lieb was apparently unconvinced by Pinellas school officials and ordered them to submit a desegregation plan by March 15, 1965. According to the *St. Petersburg Times*, the board’s resulting plan called for “an immediate start in September [1965] on complete desegregation of zones, employment practices and other items with a total fulfillment date indicated as 1967-68.”<sup>23</sup> The plan also called for the phasing out of Gibbs Junior College and an end to racial assignment of students and teachers. The phasing out of Gibbs Junior College was of particular significance to Tampa Bay’s black population. Of the school’s 787 students, only 235 were from Pinellas County. Most of Gibbs’ students were bused from Hillsborough and Manatee counties, but the school board voted to discontinue bus service to these counties on March 11, 1965.<sup>24</sup> Judge Lieb accepted the plan, describing it as “a realistic and fair one, considering the circumstances and conditions in the community, personnel and administrative problems. . .and, at the same time, the constitutional requirements of deliberate speed.”<sup>25</sup> The

plan was accepted by the federal government on May 5, 1965, allowing the continued use of federal funds by the Pinellas County school system.<sup>26</sup>

To resolve their federal suit, the Manatee County school board adopted a “freedom of choice” desegregation plan. Under this proposal, black students could attend the school of their choice. Realistically, however, very few black students could transfer under the plan. In order to transfer, a black student would have to pass a series of barriers. The student would need the written recommendation of the two school principals affected. Also, the transfer would be granted only if space was available and only if the student could provide his or her own transportation. If the student managed to pass all of these obstacles, the transfer would still have to be approved by a student assignment committee and the school board.<sup>27</sup> Manatee County Superintendent Blackburn told the *Tampa Tribune*:

I do not consider the plan wide open integration. The school board is complying with the [1964] Civil Rights Law and is saying in effect that no school in the county has the right to be segregated, but the board is not going all out to integrate them.<sup>28</sup>

Even this modest desegregation plan was condemned by the Manatee County Citizens Council, a white supremacist organization. The Citizens Council brought segregationist celebrity Lester Maddox of Georgia to speak before an audience of 300 in Bradenton.<sup>29</sup>

On June 5, 1965, Federal District Judge Joseph Lieb, who had also presided over the Pinellas case, upheld Manatee’s “freedom of choice” plan as long as the county provided free bus transportation for blacks assigned to white schools. When schools opened in September, 1965, only 170 of Manatee County’s 3,900 black students were attending “mixed” schools. In Pinellas County, thirty-two schools were mixed, sixty remained all-white, and fifteen were all-black.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout 1966 and 1967, NAACP attorneys reappeared in Judge Lieb’s chamber complaining about the slow progress of desegregation in Manatee and Pinellas counties. In November, 1965, and June, 1966, James Sanderlin, the attorney representing the black students in Pinellas County, filed suits charging that the school system was not making sufficient progress in integrating the schools. Sanderlin argued that almost 60 percent of the schools in Pinellas were still segregated and that the “integrated” schools were either predominantly black or predominantly white.<sup>31</sup> Acting Superintendent of Schools James F Gollattscheck did not deny that racial imbalance existed, but he maintained that the problem was due to residential segregation. “I would not be in favor of busing Negro pupils outside their home school zones to accomplish desegregation,” commented Gollattscheck. “I guess we will always have the problem of the neighborhood school being segregated.”<sup>32</sup> Judge Lieb denied Sanderlin’s motion on the grounds of insufficient evidence, and the attorney then appealed to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans where the NAACP was victorious. The circuit court instructed the district court to reconsider Sanderlin’s motion in light of newly approved federal guidelines.

At approximately the same time, attorneys for the Manatee County school board were appearing before Judge Lieb to report on the progress of integration in their county. The NAACP argued that Manatee officials had reneged on a promise to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to close all-black Rubonia Elementary School. On May 15, 1967, Judge Lieb

reaffirmed Manatee's "freedom of choice" plan, but he warned school officials to "take affirmative action to disestablish all school segregation and . . . to eliminate the effects of past racial discrimination in the operation of the school system."<sup>33</sup>

Two important events affected the progress of desegregation in Manatee and Pinellas counties in 1968. The first was Florida's statewide teachers strike which put the issue of desegregation on the back burner. The second was a United States Supreme Court decision, *Green v County School Board*, which declared "freedom of choice" plans were insufficient tools to desegregate the nation's schools. The Supreme Court charged that school boards had an "affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch." The "affirmative duty" meant the school board had to "come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now."<sup>34</sup>

Manatee County clung to its "freedom of choice" plan until NAACP attorneys filed a new motion before Judge Lieb. The NAACP attorneys asked for the end to the "freedom of choice" plan and the adoption of pairing, consolidation or geographical attendance zones. Although school board attorney Kenneth Cleary argued that "steady and healthy progress" was being made, Judge Lieb ordered Manatee officials to submit a new desegregation plan by February 20, 1969. The new plan, submitted on February 2, left eleven schools totally segregated, a situation unacceptable to the NAACP and Judge Lieb, who required another plan by May 21.<sup>35</sup>

Undaunted by its setbacks, the Manatee school board voted to instruct its attorneys to seek a new trial. Attorney Cleary alleged that Judge Lieb had failed to consider "the effect on the students" of massive desegregation. On June 27, 1969, Judge Lieb denied the request for a new trial, as did the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. In the face of what appeared to be the imminent desegregation of Manatee County schools, a "Save Our School Children Committee" was formed to prevent the "forced integration of our schools."<sup>36</sup> The constitution of the new organization stated that "learning traits of Negro and whites are different, that differences between Caucasians and Negroes can't be resolved, that separate classes are economically sound and superior and can be best adapted to the differences between the races."<sup>37</sup>

The entire desegregation issue in Manatee and Pinellas counties, as well as all the Southern states, was altered by two United States Supreme Court decisions in late 1969 and early 1970. In the 1969 case, the Supreme Court refused to allow another delay in desegregating Mississippi schools. The Court held that "every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once."<sup>38</sup> The *Brown* standard of desegregation with "all deliberate speed" was now replaced by a new standard-desegregation "at once." On remand, the Fifth Circuit judges ordered desegregation of faculty, staff, transportation, athletics, and other school activities by February 1, 1970. Because the circuit court believed it would be chaotic to move hundreds of thousands of school children in the middle of the school year, they called for complete student integration by September 1, 1970. However, the United States Supreme Court reversed the decision, ordering complete dismantling of dual schools by February 1, 1970.<sup>39</sup>

Manatee and Pinellas officials remained optimistic that they could avoid the Supreme Court's edict. School officials were given encouragement when Florida's flamboyant and controversial

Republican Governor, Claude Kirk, stated that Florida was “financially and physically unable” to meet the February 1 deadline. According to Kirk, complete integration of Florida’s schools would require the use of “massive busing.” Kirk ordered school officials to stick with their current school calendars, and he threatened to remove any school official complying with the February 1 deadline.<sup>40</sup>

On January 28, 1970, Governor Kirk filed a motion to intervene in the Manatee case. The motion was denied by Federal District Judge Ben Krentzman who had taken over the case from Judge Lieb. Judge Krentzman also rejected several modest desegregation plans offered by Manatee school officials, and accepted one requiring extensive busing.<sup>41</sup> The day after Krentzman’s order, Governor Kirk issued an executive order interposing the “sovereignty of the state between the School Board and the Federal District Court.” Kirk reaffirmed his threat to remove school officials complying with Judge Krentzman’s order, calling the order “physically and fiscally impossible. . . patently immoral, contrary to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, . . . and educationally unsound.”<sup>42</sup>



**Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr.**

On February 9, the Manatee school board filed a motion for a new trial and a rehearing on the desegregation plan adopted by Judge Krentzman. This motion was denied along with a motion to stay Krentzman’s desegregation order until the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals could hear the case. Krentzman also warned Manatee officials to ignore Kirk’s executive order because “when federal court orders conflict with state law, the federal law prevails.”<sup>43</sup>

On March 24, 1970, President Richard Nixon gave a speech which provided encouragement to anti-busing forces. President Nixon said that although “de facto” segregation was “undesirable,” it did not violate the Constitution. Nixon indicated his opposition to busing and his support for neighborhood schools.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps sensing national support for his anti-busing posture, Governor Claude Kirk suspended the Manatee County school board and its superintendent on April 5.<sup>45</sup> In doing so, Kirk joined the ranks of Governors Faubus, Barnett and Wallace in defying federal court school desegregation orders.

Judge Krentzman issued an order for Kirk to appear on April 7 and “show cause why he should not be held for contempt of court.” Kirk failed to appear, choosing instead to address the legislature. Krentzman set a new hearing for April 10 and also returned control of Manatee County schools to the school board and superintendent. Not to be outdone, for the second time in three days, Kirk again suspended the superintendent and school board. The governor announced



he would not appear in Judge Krentzman's courtroom on April 10 because "no federal judge. . . can order a sovereign head of a sovereign state to appear personally."<sup>46</sup>

Tiring of Kirk's theatrics, Judge Krentzman found Governor Kirk guilty of contempt of court on April 11 and levied a \$10,000 a day fine for each day Kirk was in defiance. The fine would be suspended if Kirk returned control of Manatee County schools to the school board and superintendent by Monday, April 13. Kirk quickly ended his defiance in the face of the large fines and announced he would obey Judge Krentzman's order. State Representative Jerome Platt, a Palmetto Democrat, told supporters that Kirk's abandonment of Manatee County would "go down in the annals of American history as the cruelest hoax ever perpetrated."<sup>47</sup>

With gubernatorial defiance ended, it was evident that complete desegregation was imminent for both Manatee and Pinellas schools. This became even more apparent in April, 1971, when the United States Supreme Court approved the use of cross-district busing to desegregate the nation's schools.<sup>48</sup> Two months later, the Pinellas County school board, in a meeting boycotted by Chairman Ron Fisher, became the first school district in Florida to approve voluntarily a massive cross-district busing plan. That plan called for the busing of approximately 11,000 students solely for the purpose of desegregating the county's schools.<sup>49</sup> To purchase the sixty additional buses needed under the desegregation plan, the school board asked county voters to approve a .3 millage increase. For the first time in the county's history, a school millage proposal was rejected. The board then authorized the school superintendent to borrow against future revenue so that the needed buses could be bought through the state purchasing pool.<sup>50</sup>

The reaction to busing for desegregation took varied forms in Pinellas and Manatee counties. Both counties experienced scattered incidents of racial violence. In Pinellas County, St. Petersburg, Lakewood, and Boca Ciega high schools all experienced racial unrest. School board chairman Ron Fisher attributed the violence to the fact that "whites aren't going to take any more of what they've been taking."<sup>51</sup> Another similar reaction in each county was the flight of white students to private schools. Five private schools emerged in Manatee County at the time of desegregation, and an even larger number in Pinellas County. When complete desegregation took effect in Pinellas in 1971, only one out of every ten students was attending private school, and 80 percent of these students were in Catholic schools. Ten years later, one out of seven Pinellas students was in private school, and 60 percent of these were now in "Christian" schools.<sup>52</sup>

A final reaction to desegregation was the emergence of white protest organizations in each county. The Manatee group called itself the "Freedom of Choice Committee," while the Pinellas organization took the name of "Parents Against Forced Busing" (PAFB). According to *St. Petersburg Times* reporter Robert Hooker, the Pinellas group had the support of Ron Fisher, Congressman C.W. "Bill" Young, at least one-half of the Pinellas County legislative delegation, and former governor Claude Kirk, who became honorary chairman of PAFB.<sup>53</sup> Although very vocal, neither group was successful in delaying implementation of desegregation.

School desegregation became a reality in Manatee and Pinellas counties, but many problems still continue. Black parents complain that their children have to bear a major share of the busing burden in order to achieve integrated schools. In Pinellas County, for example, 70.1 percent of the students bused for desegregation purposes are black.<sup>54</sup> Black parents also complain that the

vestiges of discrimination still exist in the Manatee and Pinellas school systems. Table I indicates that black students in both Manatee and Pinellas counties are disproportionately likely to be among the non-promoted, suspended, expelled, and victims of corporal punishment. Finally, many blacks lament the loss of their own schools. One former graduate of St. Petersburg's Gibbs High School called the integration of Gibbs "the worst thing that happened to the black community." According to this black resident, Gibbs was "the one single thing besides the black church that blacks could rally around. When you remove something that important from a culture-how can you expect it to remain the same?"<sup>55</sup>

TABLE I:  
Discipline in Manatee and Pinellas Public Schools, by Race: 1981-1982

	Student Population		Non-Promoted		Suspended		Corporal Punishment		Expulsion	
	Manatee	Pinellas	Manatee	Pinellas	Manatee	Pinellas	Manatee	Pinellas	Manatee	Pinellas
White	79.3	81.2	63.0	67.4	64.6	63.0	68.6	62.4	50.0	50.0
Black	17.4	17.4	26.5	31.4	31.0	37.0	29.1	37.3	50.0	50.0
Hispanic/other	3.3	1.4	10.5	1.2	4.4	.0	2.3	.3	.0	.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled from *Staff in Florida Public School, 1981-1982* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Education, 1982), 1, 27-30.

Things do not remain the same. Desegregation has affected black and white parents and students throughout Manatee and Pinellas counties and throughout the nation. What is most lamentable about the Pinellas and Manatee situation is that public officials did not exert the leadership that was needed to effect a quicker transition to the unitary school system. Certainly, Pinellas County moved more quickly than Manatee by agreeing to a voluntary desegregation plan in June, 1971, but this action did not occur until it was quite obvious that the federal courts would not tolerate any more delay. Instead of leading the public to accept school desegregation, the superintendents, school board members and even the governor of Florida were planning and supporting defiance of federal court orders. One wonders how much more quickly the schools could have gotten down to the business of educating students if the public officials had provided the leadership they were elected to provide.

<sup>1</sup> 1873 Florida Legislature, *Acts and Resolutions*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida*, 1885, p. 382. For an excellent history of blacks and public education in Florida, see Joseph A. Tomberlin, "The Negro and Florida's System of Education: The Aftermath of the Brown Case" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> 347 U.S. 483 (1954). For a masterful account of this landmark case, see Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, *Tampa Tribune*, and *Bradenton Herald*, May 18, 1954.

<sup>5</sup> Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 724-25.

<sup>6</sup> 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

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<sup>7</sup> *St. Petersburg Times* and *Tampa Tribune*, June 1, 1955.

<sup>8</sup> *Bradenton Herald*, June 25, 1954; *Board of Public Instruction of Manatee County v State of Florida*, 75 So. 2d 832 (1954). For an excellent history of desegregation of Manatee County schools, see Raymond Rapp, "The Failure of Massive Resistance: The Law and Social Change in Manatee County, Florida" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, undated).

<sup>9</sup> *The Golden Anniversary of Pinellas Schools, 1912-1962* (Clearwater: Pinellas County Public Schools, 1962); *St. Petersburg Times*, September 20, 1958.

<sup>10</sup> See the *Florida Times-Union*, August 19, 1962 and Tomberlin, "The Negro and Florida's System," 209.

<sup>11</sup> "Stateways vs. Folkways: Critical Factors in Southern Reactions to *Brown v Board of Education*" in G. Dietze, ed., *Essays on the American Constitution* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 144.

<sup>12</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, August 28, September 4 and 6, 1958.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, August 28 and 30, 1958.

<sup>14</sup> *Tampa Tribune*, September 4, 1963.

<sup>15</sup> *Clearwater Sun*, September 4, 1963.

<sup>16</sup> *Southern School News* (December, 1964), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in the *St. Petersburg Times*, February 14, 1965.

<sup>18</sup> *Bradenton Herald*, January 22, 1965. The case was designated as *Caroline Harvest, et al. v. the Board of Public Instruction of Manatee County, et al.* Hereafter cited as *Harvest*.

<sup>19</sup> *Bradenton Herald*, January 24, 1965.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, August 30, 1981.

<sup>21</sup> *Tampa Tribune*, June 11, 1964; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 7, 1964; *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, January 14, 1981. The case was designated *Leon Bradley, et al. v. the Pinellas County Board of Public Instruction*. Hereafter cited as *Bradley*. In 1972, Sanderlin would become Pinellas County's second black elected to public office by winning a position as Pinellas County Judge.

<sup>22</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, October 12, 1964.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, March 11, 1965.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1965.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, March 16, 1965.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, March 8, 1965.

<sup>27</sup> Rapp, "The Failure of Massive Resistance," 81-83; *Bradenton Herald*, January 26, 1965.

<sup>28</sup> *Tampa Tribune*, April 1, 1965.

<sup>29</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, April 25, 1965.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Bardolph, ed., *The Civil Rights Record* (New York: Crowell, 1970), 426-29. Also see *St. Petersburg Times*, March 30, 1966; *Clearwater Sun*, October 8, 1965.

<sup>31</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, November 16 and 19, 1965, June 17, 1966, September 21, 1966 and July 26, 1967.

<sup>32</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, September 21, 1966.

<sup>33</sup> Rapp, "The Failure of Massive Resistance," 106.

<sup>34</sup> 391 U.S. 430 (1968). J. Harvie Wilkinson gives a fine account of this case in his *From Brown to Bakke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 108-18.

<sup>35</sup> Rapp, "The Failure of Massive Resistance," 136-43.

<sup>36</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, August 21, 1969.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, August 30, 1969.

<sup>38</sup> *Alexander v Holmes County*, 396 U.S. 19 (1969).

<sup>39</sup> *Carter v West Feliciana Parish School Board*, 396 U.S. 290 (1970).

<sup>40</sup> *Bradenton Herald*, January 19, 1970; *New York Times*, January 20, 1970.

<sup>41</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, January 29 and 30, 1970.

<sup>42</sup> *Executive Order*. (Tallahassee: Office of the Governor, January 30, 1970).

<sup>43</sup> Rapp, "The Failure of Massive Resistance," 174-76.

<sup>44</sup> *New York Times*, March 25, 1970.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6, 1970.

<sup>46</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, *Bradenton Herald*, and *New York Times*, April 6 to April 10, 1970.

<sup>47</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, April 11-15, 1970.

<sup>48</sup> *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

<sup>49</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, June 3, 1971.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, July 14 and September 16, 1971.

<sup>51</sup> See Robert Hooker's excellent account, "The School Crisis in St. Petersburg," in *New South* (Winter, 1972): 48-52.

<sup>52</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, September 2, 1981.

<sup>53</sup> Hooker, "The School Crisis," 48-52.

<sup>54</sup> Marcia Slacum, et al., *Blacks in St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg: Times Publishing Co., 1980), 13.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.