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COLD WARRIORS IN THE HOT SUNSHINE: USF AND THE JOHNS COMMITTEE

By JAMES A. SCHNUR

In early 1962, a state senator quietly dispatched two agents to a motel room on the northern outskirts of Tampa. Senator Charley E. Johns instructed Chief Investigator Remus J. Strickland and Attorney Mark Hawes to search for perceived communists and subversives congregating near Temple Terrace. Instead of investigating known spies or criminal deviants, this secret inquiry targeted students and faculty at the newly-opened University of South Florida (USF). As members of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (FLIC)-a body commonly referred to as the Johns Committee-Hawes and Strickland dutifully served lawmakers who sought to preserve long-standing customs and prejudices. Between 1956 and 1965, this state-funded committee attempted to evolve into a starchamber court that would act as final arbiter of civil liberties and racial etiquette in Florida. The FLIC's probe of student habits, teaching practices, and curricular materials inflicted greater damage at USF than it did in earlier inquests at the state's other public universities. This study of the egregious USF investigation assesses the political climate that created the Johns Committee and nurtured assaults on academic freedom in Florida.

State authorities scrutinized university activities long before they empowered the Johns Committee. When the legislature approved the Buckman Act in 1905, it consolidated Florida's seminaries into a state university system governed by a single Board of Control. By circumscribing the Board's authority, politicians known as

porkchoppers preserved their budgetary sovereignty and dictated an educational policy which suited their constituencies. Porkchoppers saw the public interest as merely an aggregate of special interests, and exuded a Jacksonian distrust of experts as well as a folkish dislike of intellectuals. Although the 1885 state constitution required decennial reapportionment of the legislature, porkchoppers offered few concessions to their *lambchopper* counterparts. The phrase "one man, one vote" meant little to most Floridians when small counties such as Jefferson, Bradford, and Wakulla had the same legislative representation as Duval (Jacksonville), Orange (Orlando), Pinellas (St. Petersburg), and Hillsborough (Tampa). In this malapportioned legislature, porkchoppers assumed a predominant role, and often worked in conjunction with governors to assure that higher education stressed pragmatic goals rather than esoteric pursuits. One state executive even threatened to burn any book in the University of Florida library that failed to meet his moral criteria.¹ While most governors expected schools to exercise paternalistic authority over their students, the Florida Supreme Court codified the doctrine of *in loco parentis* in its 1925 *Stetson University v. Hunt* ruling. This decision affirmed the right of schools to create any regulations that a parent could make to control the general welfare, mental training, and moral discipline of their children. The state asserted that it could seize this authority by default if school officials failed to maintain harmony on campus.²

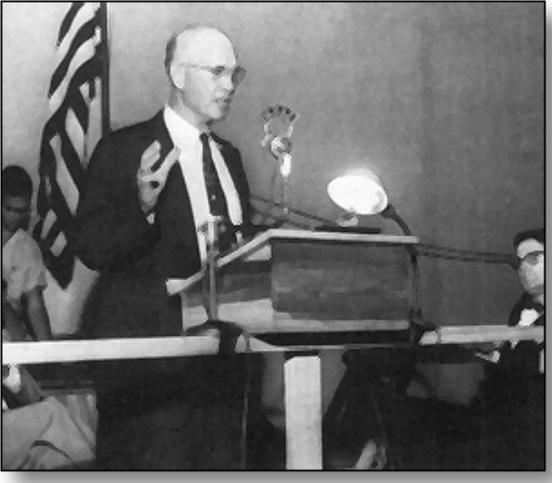
Under such conditions, neither the Board of Control nor the university protected individuals who violated Southern customs. Blatant violations of academic freedom occurred. For example, after Enoch M. Banks claimed the Confederacy had blundered by fighting the Civil War, University of Florida (UF) administrators promptly dismissed him from the faculty in 1911. Nine years later, Newell L. Sims became a victim of a Red Scare on the Gainesville campus.³ In 1926 legislators and a former governor attacked a professor at the Florida State College for Women (FSCW) in Tallahassee because he posited the theory of evolution. Although the FSCW president prevented the instructor's dismissal, he yielded to outside pressures by removing certain books from the open stacks of the library. Even the mere discussion of political ideologies aroused suspicion. In 1937 a legislator from Lake County heard that some FSCW students had participated in a tag day to raise funds for a pacifist organization. Fearing that such an activity might expose the participants to the theories of communism, bolshevism, and fascism, he persuaded his colleagues to initiate a two-year study by a joint legislative committee into un-American influences at Florida schools and colleges.⁴

Demographic changes and the postwar struggle for civil rights goaded porkchoppers. As troops returned at the end of the Second World War, colleges and universities expanded to accommodate burgeoning enrollments. Government grants and loans offered many young adults and veterans an educational opportunity unknown to their forefathers. Lambchopper politicians in Florida's urban counties benefited from an ever-increasing constituency that expected substantive reform in Florida's obsolescent structure of

government and in its malapportioned system of representation. African Americans, disenfranchised and circumscribed by Jim Crow customs since Reconstruction, viewed World War II as Manichean battle between ideologies. After defending their country's democratic tenets overseas, many blacks demanded civil liberties, greater integration into the nation's social fabric, and the right to participate in the American polity. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), while active prior to the war, became even more vocal by using the federal judiciary as their forum.

Lawsuits in many areas, but especially in the field of public education, soon filled tribunal dockets. In May 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court's unanimous *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* decision forever redefined race relations. This landmark pronouncement asserted that segregated schools violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. While most Floridians viewed the judgment with a sense of moderation, porkchoppers considered this decision a blasphemous invasion of states' rights foisted upon Southerners by subversives or agitators. Porkchoppers and school administrators reacted to *Brown* by employing McCarthyite tactics and limiting the discussion of controversial ideas whenever and wherever possible.⁵

By the spring of 1956, porkchoppers and university officials responded to the emerging civil rights movement. They expressed concern about teaching methods, campus publications, and the issue of integration. The Board of Control's chairman demanded that universities expunge any books or curricula which he deemed socialist" or "immoral". At Florida State University (FSU)-formerly the State College for Women -- President Doak



Right-wing Tampa politician Sumter Lowry, Jr., figured prominently in the Johns Committee investigation at USE In this picture Lowry is seen campaigning in his unsuccessful run for the governorship in 1956.

Photo from *Tampa: A Pictorial History* by Hampton Dunn

Campbell exacted deference from the campus community, suppressed the liberal editorial policy of the semi-weekly *Florida Flambeau* newspaper, and refused to tolerate any breach of racial segregation. He forced the campus chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) to cancel a regional conference at FSU when he learned that black faculty members from the neighboring Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU) planned to attend. As a corollary to the emerging cold war climate, advocates of "massive resistance" sought to curtail the discussion of race relations and forestall federally mandated school integration. By questioning the loyalty of intellectuals and liberals in educational institutions, porkchoppers and their supporters attempted to convince Floridians that universities fostered subversion and required extensive supervision by state authorities.⁶

A senator from Starke soon offered his assistance. As governor of Florida from 1953 to 1955, Charley Johns had promised to dismiss any professor that supported the NAACP's activities in Florida. He also encouraged the legislature to create an investigative committee in earlier biennial sessions, but lawmakers never sanctioned his proposals. When Johns reassumed the senate presidency during the 1956 special session, he modified his previous demands for a body to study criminal activities when he introduced the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee Act. He envisaged this act as a means of circumventing the *Brown* decision, quelling the Tallahassee bus boycott, and halting demands for civil rights reform. Fellow legislators approved Johns's bill before the special session adjourned.⁷

Committee members promptly established organizational procedures and conducted investigations of civil rights activities. The Johns Committee met in executive session, permitted only the chairman to make public statements, and refused to release any information before completing an inquiry. The FLIC originally sought to dismantle Florida chapters of the NAACP by insinuating that their attorneys had coerced African Americans into desegregation lawsuits. While the Committee issued subpoenas and attempted to prove that NAACP members had committed barratry, protests at Tallahassee's two universities and a city-wide bus boycott coordinated by the integrationist Inter-Civic Council gained momentum. By early 1957, the FLIC probed for alleged communist affiliations at both FSU and FAMU. Concerns that integrationists had exacerbated racial unrest prompted Johns to claim that his Committee would purge "Red influences among the faculty (because) we don't want any Communist professors teaching in your

university." When a UF faculty council adamantly called for the immediate desegregation of facilities, Johns shifted the focus of his inquest from Tallahassee to Gainesville.⁸

The Johns Committee's inquiry took a different approach at the University of Florida. When lawmakers originally empowered the FLIC, they stipulated that this interim investigative body deliver a report of its activities at every biennial session of the legislature. Members of the state senate and house of representatives would then decide whether to continue the Committee's life or disband this organization. In late 1958 Johns faced the specter of informing fellow legislators that his Committee had failed to demonstrate communist complicity by either the NAACP or the academic community. He decided to shock his colleagues into extending the FLIC's enabling legislation for another two years by searching for homosexuals at the Gainesville campus. After Hawes and Strickland delivered their voluminous report at a closed senate session in April 1959, not only did the FLIC obtain permission to operate during the next biennium, it also received a mandate to "investigate any agitator who may appear in Florida." Although the Committee possessed no constitutional authority to search for homosexuals, its members forced UF administrators to expel more than fifty students and fire over twenty faculty and staff members. Ironically, while officials at UF accepted the FLIC's findings without question, some "subversives" and homosexuals escaped investigation. Political motives thus played a paramount role, as they would again when the Committee moved south to Tampa.⁹

Porkchoppers had opposed the creation of a state university in Tampa. Even before the Cabinet and Board of Education chartered

the University of South Florida in December 1956, Board of Control officials reassured politicians and alumni from FSU and UF that those schools would retain their primacy. In an August 1956 letter from Chairman Fred Kent to Executive Director J. Broward Culpepper, Kent wrote a side note on copies distributed to the FSU and UF presidents, promising that any new schools would become senior colleges rather than true four-year institutions. When John S. Allen resigned the vice presidency at UF in June 1957 to preside over the infant university, he saw matters differently. He envisioned USF as a place "not bound to the past by any traditions (with) no fences, no boundaries holding us and limiting our search for knowledge or our methods of teaching." In their desire to foster a true scholarly community, President Allen and his carefully chosen administrators vigorously pursued talented faculty, inaugurated an interdisciplinary program known as the All-University approach, and commissioned a think piece entitled *Intellectual Tone for a State University*. Contributors to this extended essay foresaw great potential at USF. They believed no idea fell beyond the schools purview of inquiry, and encouraged frank discussion of religious and political beliefs, even though the larger community believed that such subjects required detached neutrality.¹⁰

Comity fostered by the All-University approach disappeared by early 1962. Thomas Wenner, an instructor in a course entitled *The American Idea*, had castigated the John Birch Society in a lecture. Society members responded by calling Wenner a communist dupe and demanding his immediate dismissal. By February, Wenner changed his teaching practices and allied himself with members of the community who sought to discredit the academic stature of USE. When the chairman of Wenner's

department invited Jerome Davis as a guest speaker, Wenner befriended George Wickstrom-publisher of the conservative *Zephyrhills News* -- as well as groups such as the Tampa Bay Baptist Association and Sumter Lowry's Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies. Collectively, they demanded that President Allen cancel Davis's appearance and refuse him entry to the campus. Davis, no stranger to controversy, served as an associate professor at Yale until that school's president and the House Un-American Activities Committee forced his dismissal.¹¹

President Allen failed to appease either side. When he pronounced Davis unfit to speak due to his controversial past, members of the AAUP chapter at USF unanimously passed a resolution condemning the action. Students responded by claiming Allen's decision set a terrible precedent: They feared the administration would paternalistically censor any speaker whose message might challenge the porkchoppers' hegemony. Conversely, Lowry and a group of concerned parents faulted Allen for allowing the department chairman to solicit Davis in the first place. In his newspaper articles, Wickstrom portrayed Wenner as the only true patriot at USE. Soon Lowry joined Wickstrom, Wenner, and a group of parents in an effort to forbid liberal speakers from appearing at USE. In March 1962, Mrs. Jane Tarr Smith -- a concerned parent and mother of the student government vice president -- met with other parents and compiled grievances in a report. Smith believed teachers should not view academic freedom as a license to teach evolution as fact or expose students to "Stupid, boring, as well as immoral" literary works such as *Brave New World*. On April 9, nearly twenty parents and Tampa Mayor Julian Lane met with the Smiths. Instead of resolving their differences with the USF administration, the

parents considered Johns's FLIC the appropriate agency to handle their concerns.¹²

On April 10, 1962, the Johns Committee quietly initiated its investigation of USF from a Tampa motel room. Strickland and Hawes conducted a probe of alleged homosexual activities, subversive influences, and questionable reading materials. Similar to the University of Florida inquiry, police removed students and faculty from their classes for questioning. By mid-May, Wenner faulted Hawes and Strickland for acting too cautiously. Fashioning himself as the expert on communist infiltration at USF, Wenner decided to inform the *St. Petersburg Times* of the investigation with the hope that such publicity would force the campus community to acquiesce. Allen and his administrators remained unaware of the FLIC's activities until Wenner's story appeared in the May 18 edition of the *Times*. Startled by this news, Allen demanded that the Johns Committee immediately move its hearings from the motel room to the university. He also suspended Wenner, with the intention of firing the insubordinate lecturer. The FLIC attempted to distance itself from Wenner by claiming that it came to Tampa to defend USF from outside threats, not endanger the academic climate.¹³

Within a two week period, the FLIC collected approximately 2500 pages of testimony during its stay at the Tampa campus. Hawes and Strickland interrogated those who chose to give testimony in the presence of a tape recorder belonging to the university. This arrangement prevented Strickland from selectively editing FLIC accounts of the interviews taken by the Committee. After concluding their official investigation in mid June, the FLIC continued to take statements * the motel

room. While Johns remarked on June 6 that the FLIC did not find "too much wrong with this beautiful university," he hinted that he would recommend disciplinary action to state authorities. In a letter to Allen, Wenner's supervisor expressed his fears that Johns either intended to seize USF from the Board of Control's jurisdiction or wanted to demoralize the faculty and dismantle the university.¹⁴

Another controversy erupted at USF in June 1962. A few months earlier, the school had courted a retired professor from Vanderbilt University, Denna Frank Fleming. As part of a long-range program to attract scholars of note, South Florida contacted Fleming about a part-time lectureship in the departments of political science and history. Fleming, who left Vanderbilt after thirty-four years of service due to a mandatory retirement age, considered overtures from USF officials as proof that administrators planned to appoint him, and he declined a position at another institution and purchased a home in Tampa. When he returned to Nashville after visiting USF, he found many letters in his mailbox that welcomed him to the faculty. Members of Smith's group of parents and Lowry's coalition did not extend similar cordialities. They considered Fleming a "pro-Soviet apologist" and his seminal work, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, a subversive text. Although Allen seemed less than enthusiastic about hiring Fleming after the FLIC's recent probe, he transmitted the contract to the Board of Control for its approval.¹⁵

Five days later, Allen abruptly rescinded Fleming's nomination. The president had received an unsolicited, anonymously-mailed letter from an Orlando member of Lowry's coalition. The envelope contained correspondence from Vanderbilt's chancellor, Harvie Branscomb, which

claimed that Fleming had soured and lost his perspective as a teacher. Although numerous letters of recommendation had supported Fleming's appointment, Allen withdrew his nomination solely on the basis of his communications with Branscomb. The Johns Committee also participated in this attack when it sought to discredit D. F. Fleming by implicating him with communist front affiliations that actually belonged to a Daniel J. Fleming. It sought to bolster its arguments by accepting false testimony from a former Vanderbilt student who claimed he had attended Fleming's class, even though the attendance rolls and registrar's records proved the student had never enrolled in any course taught by Fleming. While the university hired Fleming without the Board of Control's approval, it also terminated him without offering any semblance of due process. Fleming soon contacted the national AAUP office and asked for an investigation.¹⁶

After the 1962 summer session ended, the FLIC hoped once again to embarrass university administrators. Although Johns originally promised to transmit his summary of the USF investigation to campus authorities prior to its public release, he allowed a Tampa newspaper to publish a selective fifty-three page excerpt of the report while most USF administrators, including Allen, spent their vacations outside of Florida. In the text of this abbreviated report, members of the Johns Committee blamed school officials and faculty for immoral and subversive influences at USF. Professors, the FLIC argued, had cajoled naive students into questioning orthodox religious, moral, and sexual practices. In addition to the Fleming affair and the transcript in the newspaper, Allen soon confronted another violation in academic freedom as the fall semester began.¹⁷

Sheldon Grebstein joined the USF faculty during the 1962 fall term. An assistant professor of English who formerly taught at the University of Kentucky for nine years, Grebstein came to South Florida to experience the ambitious curriculum, advancement opportunities, and pioneer spirit that had attracted other instructors. Although he had heard of the Johns Committee before departing from Kentucky, he thought his past teaching record and impeccable academic credentials gave him little reason to worry. Grebstein introduced students in his advanced writing class to various essays and reviews, including a work by Norman Podhoretz that he had previously used while an instructor at Kentucky. Entitled "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," this article criticized beatnik authors by excerpting passages from their own writings. Though this article did contain mild profanity, it had appeared in a respectable scholarly journal and had served as a supplement to the curriculum in colleges and universities throughout the country. When Johns obtained copies of the Podhoretz essay, he met with the Board of Control and its members promptly summoned Allen to Gainesville and demanded Grebstein's dismissal.¹⁸

Allen and his advisors instead decided to suspend Grebstein. In September the Board had issued a policy statement which required all curricular materials to fall within the arbitrarily defined boundaries the Board has established for "good taste" and "common decency". Grebstein defended his selection of the essay, claiming that he decided to include it in his syllabus before the Board's directive took effect. In addition, Grebstein considered his students mature members of the university community, not children who should suffer from institutional censorship. He immediately called for Allen to appoint a

faculty committee to investigate the charges.¹⁹

In light of the Grebstein suspension, Florida's academic community rallied to preserve academic freedom. Faculty at FSU and UF no longer remained passive about the crisis at their sister institution in Tampa. Michael Kasha, FSU's professor of the year, told a homecoming crowd on November 6 that he and other top scholars would leave the state if threats to the intellectual climate persisted. Gordon W. Blackwell, who succeeded Doak Campbell as FSU president, joined with his faculty senate in condemning the Board's restrictive policies. AAUP chapters throughout the state passed resolutions of support, as did the Florida and Florida State alumni associations, the Tampa branch of the American Association of University Women, the Florida Library Association, and other organizations.²⁰

Students, considering freedom to teach a necessary prerequisite for political democracy, demanded greater autonomy for educational institutions such as USE The fear that confronted students at FAMU, FSU, and UF a few years earlier gave way to a sense of anger. An anonymously-written song, set to the tune of "Santa Claus is Coming to Town", echoed the sentiments of many in the USF community:

You better watch out,
You better not cry,
You better be good, I'm telling you
why, Charley Johns is coming to
town.

He's making a list,
Checking it twice,
Gonna find out who's
Naughty and nice,
Charley J. is coming to town.

He knows where you've been
sleeping,
He knows when you're awake,
He knows if you've been bad or
good,
So be good for USF's sake.

So, please look,
Around every corner,
If you don't
You'll be a goner,
Cause Charley J. is coming to town.

He's got a big mic,
And he's got a big camera,
You may find yourself in Vistarama,
Good old Charley is coming to town.

So in conclusion,
May I say,
You'll get a call from him someday,
No one else but good old Charley J.²¹

Outrage gripped the campus on November 17. Although Allen accepted the faculty committee's conclusions, he censured Grebstein for failing to use materials that promoted a proper moral tone. While Allen originally hoped to offer Grebstein a full reinstatement, he worried that neither the Board of Control nor the Johns Committee would accept anything less than immediate dismissal. His compromise, which rankled everyone at USF including himself, allowed Grebstein to continue his teaching duties, but with an administrative slap on the wrist for using "poor judgment". Though some faculty members soon asked for Allen's removal, Grebstein knew that such an action would not solve the university's problems. The FLIC represented a strong anti-intellectual current in Florida that would cherish any insubordination against Allen, and porkchoppers might consider discord at USF a valid excuse to replace Allen with a president more sympathetic to

their demands. Despite offers of promotion and tenure, Grebstein concluded that he could not teach at USF as long as the Johns Committee continued its witch hunt. Before the 1962- 1963 academic year ended, Grebstein had resigned from the University of South Florida to accept a position at Harpur College in New York.²²

As the 1963 legislative session began, the Johns Committee hoped to extend its mandate for another biennium. Sumter Lowry even encouraged lawmakers to change the FLIC from an interim body to a permanent investigative committee. When Mark Hawes spoke before lawmakers on April 18, 1963, he claimed that activities at USF openly defied the state's taxpayers and endangered the well-being of Floridians. Hawes delivered his report verbally so no permanent transcript of his report would remain. Fortunately, a lambchopper from the Hillsborough County delegation obtained a recording of Hawes speech and gave it to Allen. In an unprecedented move, President Allen received permission to defend USF before the legislature. Six days after Hawes had lambasted his school, Allen refuted the FLIC's charges and reminded politicians that "a college is not engaged in making ideas safe for students, (but instead) it is engaged in making students safe for ideas." Although Allen garnered applause and moral support, Johns attained something greater: Legislators granted the FLIC a two-year extension and more that doubled its appropriation.²³

By 1964, however, the Johns Committee's influence had waned. Throughout the South, segregationists' threats to academic freedom decreased after Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In that same year, the national office of the American Association of University Professors released its report on the 1962 D. F. Fleming case. The AAUP

faulted Allen, the Board of Control, and the Johns Committee for USF's deteriorating intellectual climate. The University of South Florida became the first public university in the state placed under AAUP censure, in effect warning that the institution could not guarantee freedom to teach and learn to members of its community. The AAUP did not remove this opprobrium until Allen, members of the USF chapter of the AAUP, and officials from the national headquarters negotiated a suitable agreement for Fleming and modified university policies in the spring of 1968.²⁴ The FLIC alienated itself from its porkchopper supporters when it released a booklet entitled *Homosexuality and Citizenship in Florida*. Commonly known as the "purple pamphlet", this book contained a descriptive glossary and homoerotic photographs that shocked many Floridians. This work, devised as a way to inform residents of homosexual practices, actually became popular reading material in gay book stores outside of Florida. Committee members had little choice but to disband the FLIC when its enabling legislation expired on July 1, 1965, because they could no longer garner public confidence. To prevent Johns and his porkchopper allies from suffering further embarrassment, lawmakers sealed all records of this state-funded agency from inspection until December 2028. Even though the FLIC ended its McCarthyite investigations twenty-seven years ago, current exemptions in the state's otherwise liberal Public Records Law will prevent public scrutiny of the Johns Committee for nearly thirty-six more years.²⁵

The struggle that threatened USF during its early years represented a clash between old and new Florida. When legislators awarded Hillsborough County the new university in 1956, some residents evinced porkchopper attitudes and distrusted the promise of

higher education. Other citizens viewed the new and integrateJ public university as a threat to the University of Tampa, a smaller and privately- operated school located along the west side of the Hillsborough River in downtown Tampa. The failure of Johns, Wenner, Lowry, Smith, and other combatants to unite under a single leader offered USF's academic community an opportunity to muster support and preserve the university.²⁶ Fortunately, many Tampans saw the promise of higher education along Florida's West Coast. A trip to the Special Collections Department of the Tampa Campus Library affords researchers an opportunity to gauge this support. While porkchoppers in the malapportioned legislature managed to postpone many of Governor LeRoy Collins's ambitious reform measures, they could not indefinitely battle Florida's changing demography. Residents of the Tampa Bay area would no longer tolerate a legislative process that often gave small towns such as Perry and Starke a representative advantage over their growing urban metropolis. To most citizens in west central Florida, Johns intervened at USF solely to preserve the antiquated system of patronage and personal politics that guaranteed his re-election.²⁷

The University of South Florida acquired permanent scars from the Johns Committee investigation. Allen sacrificed his All-University approach and ambitious curriculum to prevent the Board of Control and Johns Committee from dismantling the university he loved. Although the school's phenomenal growth as a commuter school certainly changed its character, to a larger extent USF's fundamental intellectual principles became a casualty of the battle to preserve the institution. After sustaining attacks from legislators, parents, and porkchoppers, USF's Intellectual Tone for a State University seemed more like a pipe dream

than an attainable goal. Legacies of the Johns Committee continue to haunt USF to this day.²⁸

Dr. Sheldon Grebstein currently serves as president of the State University of New York at Purchase. Although three decades have passed since he departed from USF, he retains vivid memories of the episode.

Before moving to Tampa, he regarded teaching as a noble profession. Scholarly life offered the unique opportunity to discuss, debate, and analyze ideas with others who enjoyed intellectual discourse. But his brief stay at USF transformed him: No longer did education take place in a secluded, impregnable ivory tower. He now saw the classroom as the battlefield and his colleagues as defenders of academic freedom. Indeed, he viewed the incident at South Florida as a salutary, even ennobling, experience. It alerted him to the precarious nature of the academy in American life. Most importantly, it demonstrated to him that the university community must forever remain vigilant.²⁹

ENDNOTES

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² *Stetson University v. Hunt*, 88 Fla. 510, 102 So. 637 (1925).

³ Howard K. Beale, *A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 201; Flint, *Cracker Messiah*, 254.

⁴ Francis R. Allen, *As I Saw It: History of the Sociology Department at Florida State University, 1948-1979* (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1984), 8; St. Petersburg Times 22 May 1937, 11, 1 June 1937, 9. While Representative LeRoy Collins attempted to remove all references to pacifism from the legislation, other legislators countered by seeking to extend the investigation beyond alleged subversion in the schools into a broader state-wide inquest. Another measure considered during the 1937 biennial session advocated the creation of a five-member state board of censors to regulate the sale, distribution, and display of literature, pictures, and postcards. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, 19 May 1937, 1, 6.

⁵ David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, "Aftermath of the Brown Decision: The Politics of Interposition In Florida," *Tequesta* 37 (1977): 62-63; Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism*, 40-41.

⁶ University of Florida *Alligator* 9 March 1956, 1, 16 March 1956, 1; Robert Folsom, "How Free Is College Journalism?" *New Republic*, 2 April 1956, 11. See also: Joseph A. Tomberlin, 'The Negro and Florida's System of Education: The Aftermath of the *Brown* Case' (Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1967). Before assuming the presidency at Florida State, Doak S. Campbell became involved in an academic freedom controversy in Tennessee. For more information, see: "Academic Freedom and Tenure: State Teachers College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee," *AAUP Bulletin* 28 (December 1942): 662677.

⁷ Bonnie S. Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida: Charley Johns and the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, July, 1956 to July, 1965" (M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, 1985), 2, 6-9, 16-18.

⁸ Steven F. Lawson, "The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee and the Constitutional Adjustment of Race Relations, in *An Uncertain Tradition: Constitutionalism and the History of the South*, eds. Kermit W. Hall and James W. Ely (Athens: University of Georgia, 1989), 297-300; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 17-18, 31, 92; Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, University of Georgia, 1987), 19; Jacksonville Florida Star 14 July 1956, 1, 22 November 1956, 1, 9 February 1957, 1;

"Report of the Committee to Consider Admission of Negro Students to the University of Florida," 21 July 1958, Box 48, J. Wayne Reitz Papers, University of Florida Special Collections, Gainesville.

⁹ Chapter 57-125, Laws of Florida; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 31, 109-111; University of Florida *Alligator*, 11 February 1958, 1, 31 October 1958, 1, 20 February 1959, 1, 19 February 1960, 1; *Transcript of Testimony*, p. 54, Box 1, Florida Bar Association Papers, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee; Chapter 59-207, Laws of Florida; Minutes of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (Jacksonville), Box 9, Clerk of the House of Representatives Papers, State Archives. For additional sources, consult the Herbert S. Phillips Papers and the Ruth Perry Collection, University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa. The author has compiled a detailed finding aid for the Perry Collection.

¹⁰ Fred H. Kent to J. Broward Culpepper, 2 August 1956, Box 22, Doak S. Campbell Files, State Archives; *St. Petersburg Times* 3 September 1957, IB; John Egerton, "The Controversy: One Man's View of Politics In the Making of a University" (Unpublished Manuscript, 1965), 40, 62-66, John Egerton File on the Johns Committee, University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa. The author has compiled a finding aid for the Egerton File. See also: Lewis B. Mayhew, ed., *Intellectual Tone for a State University* (Tampa: University of South Florida, 1961), 1-6, 18-23, 28; Russell M. Cooper and Margaret B. Fisher, *The Vision of a Contemporary University: A Case Study of Expansion and Development in American Higher Education, 1950-1975* (Tampa: University of South Florida, 1982), 17-18.

¹¹ Egerton, "Controversy," 62-66, Egerton File; W.W. Webb (of John Birch Society) to Thomas Wenner, 20 January 1962, Box 4, John S. Allen Papers, University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 128; Gara LaMarche "Champion of the Public Interest: Highlights of the 50-year Work of the Academic Freedom Committee of the ACLU," (Unpublished Manuscript, ACLU, 1976), 15, Box 10, American Civil Liberties Union of Florida Papers (1955-1981), University of Florida Special Collections, Gainesville; Tampa Bay Baptist Association Letter, 1962, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files, University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa; Tampa Times (USF Edition) 15 May 1961, 1. Ironically, years after

George Wickstrom attacked USF from his Zephyrhills newspaper, his daughter served on the staff of the campus newspaper, the USF Oracle. Dr. Charles W. Arnade, Interview with Author, 29 November 1990.

¹² *Tampa Times (USF Edition)* 5 March 1962, 2, 12 March 1962, 1; *Report of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee to the State Board of Control and the State Board of Education* (on USF). 6-7, Box 9, Clerk of the House of Representatives Papers, Series 517, State Archives, Tallahassee; Memo from USF-AAUP Chapter to John S. Allen, 2 March 1962, Box 4, Allen Papers; Egerton, "Controversy," 73-74, Egerton File; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 131-136; "Academic Freedom and Tenure University of South Florida," *AAUP Bulletin* 50 (March 1964): 45; *Zephyrhills News* 25 May 1962, 4; *St. Petersburg Times* 18 May 1962, IB, 3B, 20 May 1962, 2D, 26 May 1962, 3B; Jane Tarr Smith, "Report on USF", 2d ed., 2-7, 18, Johns Committee Folders. USF General Files.

¹³ Egerton, "Controversy," 79, 82, 85-88, 93, Egerton File; *Tampa Times (USF Edition)* 21 May 1962, 1; *St. Petersburg Times* 18 May 1962, 1B, 3B, 25 May 1962, IA; Murray G. Ross, ed., *New Universities In the Modern World* (New York: St. Martin's, 1966), 165.

¹⁴ *FLIC Report*, 1-4, 30-32, 41-42, Box 9, Clerk of the House Papers, State Archives; *St. Petersburg Times* 24 May 1962, 1 B, 26 May 1962, 7A, 3B, 7 June 1962, 20B; Robert Warner to John S. Allen, 25 May 1962, Box 4, Allen Papers; Stark, "McCarthyism in Florida," 150-151.

¹⁵ *Tampa Times (USF Edition)*, 30 April 1962, 1, 29 April 1963, 1; R. R. Purdy (Vice Chancellor of Vanderbilt University) to D. F. Fleming, 6 January 1961, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files; "Academic Freedom and Tenure: USF," 44, 49; *FLIC Report*, 12-15, Clerk of the House Papers, State Archives; Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies, *Bulletin #79*, 2 July 1962, Smith, "Report," 9, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files.

¹⁶ "Academic Freedom and Tenure USF," 44-51, 56; Allen to Fleming, 21 July 1962, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files; Egerton, Controversy, 111- 113, 221. Egerton File.

¹⁷ Egerton, "Controversy," 117, Egerton File; *FLIC Report*, 7-8, 11-12, 19-20, 26-27, 50-52, Box 9, Clerk Of the House Papers, State Archives.

¹⁸ Dr. Sheldon N. Grebstein, Telephone Interview with Author, 15 November 1990; Stark; "McCarthyism in Florida," 178-180. To read the article in question, see Norman Podhoretz, "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," *Partisan Review* 25 (Spring 1958): 305-318.

¹⁹ *St. Petersburg Times* 23 October 1962, 1B; "Report to the President of the University of South Florida by President's Faculty Advisory Committee on the Suspension of Dr. Sheldon Grebstein," 9 November 1962, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files; Egerton, "Controversy," 155-159; Grebstein Interview, 15 November 1990.

²⁰ University of Florida *Alligator* 26 October 1962, 1, 1 November 1962, 1, 4 November 1962, 1, 3, 6 November 1962, 2, 11 November 1962, 7; "Academic Freedom and Tenure: USF," 54; *St. Petersburg Times* 3 November 1962, 1B, 9 December 1962, 12A; University of Florida Alumni Association, *Florida's Crisis In Higher Education* (Gainesville: n.p., 1961(?)), 9; AAUW Tampa Area Report and Resolution, 1962, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files.

²¹ Anonymous Verse, undated, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files.

²² "Report from the President on Sheldon N. Grebstein, Assistant Professor of English," 14 November 1962, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files; Dr. Don Harkness Interview, USF Silver Anniversary Oral History Project, 7, University Archives, University of South Florida Special Collections, Tampa; *St. Petersburg Times* 18 November 1962, 1A; Egerton, "Controversy," 169, 172, Egerton File; Grebstein Interview, 15 November 1990; *Tampa Times* (USF Edition) 19 November 1962, 1, 11 March 1963, 1.

²³ *Tampa Times* (USF Edition) 29 April 1963, 1, 12; Ross, ed., *New Universities*, 165; John S. Allen, "Address to the State Legislature," 24 April 1963, Johns Committee Folders, USF General Files. Chapter 63545, *Laws of Florida*, appropriated \$155,000 for the FLIC during the 1963-1965 biennium. Two years earlier, the Committee received only \$75,000.

²⁴ William P. Fidler, "Academic Freedom In the South Today," *AAUP Bulletin* 51 (December 1965): 414; "Academic Freedom and Tenure: USF", 56-57; *AAUP Bulletin* 54 (June 1968): 178.

²⁵ *St. Petersburg Times* 19 March 1964, 1A; D. Stephen Kahn to Author, 17 June 1991.

²⁶ Arnade Interview, 29 November 1990; Grebstein Interview, 15 November 1990; Egerton, "Controversy," 93, 97-98, 134-135, Egerton File. An undercurrent of anti-Semitism seemed to appear among porkchoppers when professors (such as Grebstein and another faculty member, Sy Kahn) challenged students to reappraise their religious beliefs. This adds another dimension to the struggle for academic freedom.

²⁷ Papers In the John Egerton File on the Johns Committee demonstrate that a growing number of Tampans disapproved of the FLIC's tactics by the early 1960s. See finding aids by the author for the LeRoy Collins, John Egerton, and Ruth Perry papers at the University of South Florida Special Collections Department, Tampa Campus Library. Within these manuscript collections, researchers will discover newspaper clippings, editorials, and correspondence files which detail the progress of the Johns Committee Investigations.

²⁸ Egerton, "Controversy." 246-247, Egerton File; Dr. Frank H. Spain Interview, USF Silver Anniversary Oral History Project, 21.

²⁹ Grebstein Interview, 15 November 1990.