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From "Silence and Darkness:" Historical Origins of the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1883 to 1917

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FROM "SILENCE AND DARKNESS:"

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE FLORIDA SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND BLIND, 1883 to 1917

By

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAIB	American Association of Instructors of the Blind
ADA	Americans with Disabilities Act
A.K.A.	Also Known As
AMA	American Missionary Association
ASL	American Sign Language
D&B	Deaf and Blind (usually refers to an institution)
EAHCA	Education Act for All Handicapped Children Act
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FAPEDB	The Florida Association for the Promotion of the Education of the Deaf and Blind
FFC	Florida Female College
FSCW	Florida State College for Women
FSDB	Florida School for the Deaf and Blind
FTU	Florida Times Union
IDEA	Individuals with Disabilities Education Act
IIF	Internal Improvement Fund
HMSD	Horace Mann School for the Deaf
L.P.F	Little Paper family
N.D.	No Date
NYPS	The New York Point System
PARC	Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children
SCSDB	South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind
sic	recognition of misspelling in a quoted source
St.	Saint (as in St. Augustine)
UF	University of Florida

ABSTRACT

From "Silence and Darkness:" Historical Origins of the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1883 to 1917 is an early institutional history of the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind (FSDB) covering the first 34 years of the school's existence. The study examines three areas for discreet spans of time: 1) external forces influencing institutional creation and operation, 2) institutional administrative and academic structure, and 3) institutional student life and instruction.

To uncover the history of the school, the study considers Florida educational records, newspaper archives, historical articles from professional journals from organizations of deaf education, materials printed by the school as well as secondary sources among the body of special education literature. This study illuminates areas of the history of education that have been largely ignored and adds to the body of the few institutional histories of deaf and blind institutions that exist.

This study reveals that FSDB began under the protective governorship of William Bloxham as Thomas Hines Coleman sought his goal of founding a deaf and blind school, making its way through subsequent gubernatorial administrations, navigating its way through allegations of mismanagement and cruelty, learning to operate effectively in a political environment, and finally beginning to flourish under the leadership of school President Walker. Throughout the unfolding of the history, this work shows differences between the treatment of the races, genders, and disabilities. Some difference

may be attributed to direct and intentional actions while others are coincidental.

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE PERTINENT TO THE STUDY OF THE FLORIDA SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND BLIND: 1880S INTO 1917

Before delving into a review of literature and sources pertinent to the historical study at hand, a brief overview of the trends in historiography of education will situate the ideas of the literature and the dissertation. This overview will summarize the four major modes of historiographic research and identify major authors associated with each.

A Brief Historiographic Introduction to the Field of History of Education: 1880s and Beyond

The first identifiable camp of educational historians was that of the traditionalists. This camp wrote from the emergence of the history of education as a field in the late 1880s into the 1950s. These authors focused exclusively on the public education system. Authors such as Ellwood P. Cubberley worked under major assumptions that a free, tax-supported educational system was good for the citizen and nation.[1] Many of these early historians

[1] Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the US: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History, Revised Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), p. ix. Cubberley's Public Education in the US is a premier example of the traditionalist mode of historiographic inquiry. Cubberley revised and extended the 1932 first edition in 1947 to make the text of "greater teaching value" p. ix. He

of education were professors of education or school administrators. Their proximity to the profession of education perhaps led them to write in a manner in which the leaders of education were portrayed as enlightened individuals who sought only the common good and a vital democratizing force through their profession. Conversely, these same leaders portrayed all those opposing such positive educational reforms as ignorant or selfish.

In his own words, Cubberley explains:

> An effort was made to set forth the outstanding events of our educational history in graphic manner, to point out their close relation to the social, political, and national movements then taking place, and to help the teacher see the educational problems of the twentieth century. . . an effort was made to explain the connection between history of education and the institutional efforts of the State in the matter of the training of the young; to set forth our educational history as an evolving series of events from which recent advances in educational practice and procedure have had their origin; and to make clear the relation between our educational development and the great social and industrial changes which have given the recent marked expansion of the state educational effort its meaning.[2]

Cubberley offers a very comprehensive treatment in his 1947 text including small sections on special education, education for blacks and information detailing the special aspects of education in the northeast, south and mid-west. However, such a comprehensive treatment of the subject of education can only be

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adds activities at the end of each chapter, a chapter about colonial education and a volume II set of readings.

[2] Ibid., p. v. This statement comes from the author's preface where Cubberley explains and defends his modifications to the 1932 edition of his text.

cursory. Cubberley's text is heavy in factual presentation and less robust in the area of interpretation and analysis compared to more contemporary pieces of historical work in education; perhaps, the text is steeped in preconceived notions of the roots of American education and other assumptions yet to be challenged.

In response to the enormous influence of Cubberley, Lawrence Cremin wrote The Wonderful World of Ellwood Cubberley, a critical essay that lauded the accomplishments of Cubberley, chastised his faults and defended him from undue criticism. Cremin first recognized Cubberley's enormous contribution to the history of education, he "not only synthesized a wealth of previous scholarship into the now familiar story of the public school triumphant; it proffered a vision of American education that proved plausible and persuasive."[3] Further, Cubberley set the "'cardinal points of the compass' for the pedagogical journey ahead."[4]

In general terms, Public Education in the United States was a great achievement in the creation of the history of education as a pursuit of inquiry; however, smaller aspects of the book troubled academics such as Cremin and Bailyn. Cremin strongly criticized Cubberley (as did a large number of academics) for his single-minded orientation toward institutional history and all-too-narrow definition of education referring only to formal public schooling. After the appearance of Cubberley's text, some discussion arose about the difference between *education as schooling* and *education as enculturation*.[5] Lord added "since

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[3] Lawrence Cremin, The Wonderful World of Ellwood Cubberley: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education (New York: Columbia University, 1965), p. 1

[4] Cubberley cited in Cremin, 1965, p. 1-2.

[5] Robert E. Mason, reviews of Education and American History and The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley by Lawrence A. Cremin, History of Education Quarterly 5 (September 1965): 189. In this work, Mason identifies the arguments coming from the "new historians of education."

Cubberley, interest has centered on the emergence of today's system of public education, resulting in the loss of the broader understanding which history alone can give and in the neglect of all aspects of the contemporary forms, purposes, and content of education not reflected in the modern public school."[6] Bailyn was concerned that Cubberley was "in isolation from the mainstream of American historiography."[7]

Cremin, however, dismissed Bailyn's claim as "a conflict between historians and educationalists in their interpretation of educational history was. . . as much a conflict among historians themselves." In fact, Cremin seems to be unaffected by this argument of Bailyn's of isolation; he is in fact more concerned with the need for a revision to Cubberley due to new developments in American society that have enacted a "complete transformation in the architecture of contemporary education, one that clearly suggests the need for a more inclusive account of our educational history."[8] This essay represents a part of the new development in the inquiry of history of education – the creation of a newly identifiable camp departing from that of the Traditionalists; Mason reports "as historians use education in the broad sense to denote the total array of cultural influences by which a civilization is perpetuated from generation to generation, a most fertile perspective for social and intellectual history is provided."[9]

This second camp of educational history was that of the Progressives. This camp was one wave of reaction to the traditionalist camp rising in the 1960s into the 1980s. These

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[6] Clifford L. Lord, review of Education and the Forming of American Society, by Bernard Bailyn, Journal of Higher Education 32 (December 1961): 522.

[7] Bernard Bailyn cited in Mason, 1965, p. 189.

[8] Cremin, 1965, p. 47.

[9] Mason, 1965, p. 190. The author recognizes the opportunity beyond the inquiry of only the Traditionalist method.

authors sought to look beyond the traditional public education system; they sought to examine the broad educational arena of agencies instead of just schools (e.g. libraries, museums, etc.). Progressive authors such as Cremin and Bailyn argued for the inclusion of the socio-historic context of the issues facing the education system.[10] In this way, the Progressivists broadened the scope of inquiry for educational historians. Progressivism had been critiqued for its hazy demarcation to the end of the scope of educational history and for the freedom to allow each author to provide a personalized definition of education. Donato and Lazerson referred to the 1960s and 70s of the Progressivists as the "Golden Era" of educational history because the scholarship of these authors "told stories about the past and it attempted to reveal the historical roots of the educational crises" of the then modern time.[11]

In American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876, Cremin re-explores the America that Alexis de Tocqueville once did; Tocqueville "is his inspiration, guide and teacher."[12] According to Lazerson, Cremin argues that "American education was popular, participatory, widely accessible, and diverse; its institutions rapidly multiplied, were community-based, and were constantly being broadened and transformed; the formal and informal curriculum emphasized experiential knowledge, self awareness, and self study."[13] Cremin helps to broaden what

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[10] Lawrence Cremin, American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876 (New York: Columbia University, 1980), and Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Formation of American Society: Needs and Opportunity for Study (New York: Basic Books, 1960) as examples of Progressivist literature.

[11] Ruben Donato and Marvin Lazerson, "New Directions in American Educational History: Problems and Prospects," Educational Researcher 29, No. 8, (2000): 5.

[12] Marvin Lazerson, review of American Education: The National Experience, 1793-1876, by Lawrence Cremin, Review in American History (September 1981): 383.

[13] Ibid., p. 383.

historians of education put under the scope of their study by directing attention to ideas beyond just the public school system. Lazerson shows that Cremin fails to explore the darker side of American society as Tocqueville had done decades before. In the spirit of Progressivists tying the old to the new, Cremin offers the book as an "eloquent testimony to what America might have become" leaving the darkened view to someone else's devices.[14]

In Education in the Formation of American Society, Bailyn continues the change of thinking of education solely as only the public school system in the same mode of thought as Cremin. Bailyn further argues that education is not just pedagogy but the transmission of culture.[15] Greene adds that previous studies ignored "the role of important traditional agencies such as family, community, and church upon which the original settlers largely depended to perpetuate their culture."[16] Bailyn also stands shoulder to shoulder with Cremin in his criticism of preconceived notions that education was provided through the hard work of the noblest of the American citizens as argued in the traditionalist literature. Moss writes "Bailyn clearly discloses the false foundation of [existing professional] histories when he points out that they were all written to prove a predetermined thesis," more specifically "that education is the finest and noblest of the factors creating the progress of mankind."[17] Despite the criticism of the traditional history of education, Bailyn also brings positive additions to the discipline as he

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[14] Ibid., p. 386.

[15] Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Formation of American Society: Needs and Opportunity for Study (New York: Basic Books, 1960).

[16] Jack P. Greene, review of Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study, by Bernard Bailyn, American Quarterly 13 (Autumn, 1961): 436.

[17] Gordon Moss, review of Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study, by Bernard Bailyn, The Journal of Southern History 27 (May 1961): 238.

"puts the evolution of apprenticeship training and the Christianizing of the Indians into their broader historical perspective and notes the role of various church sects. . . [establishing] colleges to educate the educators and to produce ministers for their self-perpetuation."[18] The Progressivists such as Cremin and Bailyn helped paved the way for new ways of looking at the history of education. Their studies often added new populations and institutions to be studied and eventually led to the creation of a new avenue of study as considered below.

The Revisionists make up the third camp of historians of education. Revisionists of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s reacted to the basic assumptions heralded by the traditionalists. As the first camp of historians to employ the computer (and thus higher order quantitative methods) to history of education this camp focused on the nature of correlation and cause – more precisely the existence of confusion between the two. One common illustration of the complexity of issues involves 19th century Irish immigrants to the US and school attendance. Some historians found that Irish immigrants attended school in lower proportions than other ethnic groups of the time. The *correlation* between being Irish and diminished school attendance school is clear. However Revisionists would be quick to point out that the underlying *cause* has been suggested to be family wealth and/or family structure. The revisionist authors seek clarity in the relationship between outcome and cause not apparent correlation. Revisionists question assumptions that state-supported schooling is generated by a democratic process and that democratic opportunity has been the result. This camp instead argues that American democracy operates under the exploitation of capitalism, mainstream values are oppressive to other alternatives, and that the bureaucracy of the school system has many negative outcomes. Among these authors are Michael

[18] Lord, 1961, p. 523.

Katz, Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, Joel Spring, and James Anderson.[19]

Katz' Irony of Early School Reform argued that early educational reform has "never been truly democratic, truly popular or. . . truly liberal."[20] In fact, Katz described the common school movement as a coalescing of the actions of wealthy elite, aspiring middle class folk, and educators. The wealthy elite sought to solve the problems of industrialization via school reform; the middle class sought social mobility via education, and educators sought to "enhance their precarious professional status."[21] While the common-school movement was victorious in bringing reform, it was a mixed blessing that Cohen describes as a new "system encrusted in a rigid bureaucracy and estranged from the working-class community which comprised its chief clientele."[22] In essence, the reforms instituted were for "the benefit of the middle and upper classes."[23]

Following in the footsteps of Katz, Bowles and Gintis pursue the exploration of "three major turning points in American educational history and attempt to link these to concurrent

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[19] Michael Katz, Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, 1976).; James Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). are examples of Revisionist literature.

[20] Rush Weller, review of The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, by Michael B. Katz, The Journal of American History 55 (March 1969): 867-68.

[21] Sol Cohen, review of The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, by Michael B. Katz, American Quarterly 21 (Summer 1969): 380.

[22] Ibid., p 380.

[23] Donato and Lazerson, 2000. This article enumerates a number of Revisionist authors and their basic arguments in their major works.

structural changes in the economy."[24] In the tradition of the revisionists, Bowles and Gintis employ a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data in their argument that schooling responds to the economy in a way that is antithetical to the full development of human capital. Field writes "What is needed they [Bowles and Gintis] suggest, is a transformation of the economic order. . . schools would still train and socialize in the ensuring new society but. . . some of the effects of schooling on personality and social structure which they view as deleterious could be, if not eliminated, then at least minimized."[25]

Joel Spring made arguments that echo those of Katz' (1968) Irony of Early School Reform. In Education and the Rise of the Corporate State, Spring illuminated "hostilities towards the organization and intent of both the modern schooling and society."[26] Essentially, he argued that common-school movement led to school changing to suit the needs only of the modern industrial society. Troen more eloquently state the "basic failing of the schools is that they adapted too uncompromisingly to the structure and needs of modern, industrial society."[27]

Anderson is another author identified with the revisionist camp. Anderson's (1988) The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 was part of a "frontal assault on the traditional view" in the historiography of southern black education.[28] According to

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[24] Alexander J. Field, review of Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life, by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Journal of Economic History 37 (June 1977): 491-2.

[25] Ibid., p. 491.

[26] Selwyn K. Troen, "Strategies for Education in a Technological Society" a review of Education and the Rise of the Corporate State, by Joel Spring, History of Education Quarterly 14 (Spring 1974): 138.

[27] Ibid., p. 138.

[28] Ronald E. Butchart, review of The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, by James D. Anderson, The American Historical Review 95 (June 1990): 915.

Butchart, Anderson argued two key points. The first key argument was that southern blacks truly believed in the ability of education to uplift the community; blacks did not pursue education as a "childish mimicking of the habits of whites."[29] The second argument suggested northern philanthropists opposed "both the white South's crude means of racial control and the black South's struggle for self determination."[30] Philanthropic support of industrial education for southern blacks resulted in "schools that were oppressive in both form and content and were designed to train former slaves for a life of subordination."[31] Anderson's arguments represented a strong reaction to long held traditionalist views.

Further reaction to some of the revisionists can be seen in the most recent trend in historiography of American education loosely termed the "post-revisionists." These authors focus on the synthesis of materials and methods, especially the side-by-side use of qualitative and quantitative methods. For the post-revisionists, reformers are not misguided, ill-informed individuals and parents and/or children are not necessarily passive victims of a bureaucratic school system.

Unlike revisionists, these authors display a more balanced and nuanced analysis of the interactions between school officials, teachers, and students but continue in the vein of revisionism because of their inclusion of blacks, women, native Americans, Latinos, and other traditionally marginalized groups. Among these authors, Victoria MacDonald (1999), and James Leloudis (1996) are placed.[32] MacDonald argues that the notion

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[29] Ibid., p. 915.

[30] Ibid., p. 915.

[31] Joe M. Richardson, review of The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, by James D. Anderson, The Journal of American History 76 (December 1989): 938.

[32] Victoria-Maria MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman's

embraced by historians of education that bureaucratization of the Progressive Era forced female teachers to be subordinate teachers to the governance of the male-dominated administration needed to be reconsidered.[33] MacDonald argues that teacher examinations eliminated the politics of teacher appointments while developing school systems provided stable employment for female teachers. Female teachers were not necessarily victims of male administrators; in fact, the reforms of the Progressive Era may have directly helped stabilize the vocation of teaching for women.

Leloudis' (1996) Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880 – 1920 provides a history of the emergence of the common school and its transformation into the graded school in North Carolina from the close of the 19th century into the early 20th century.[34] While the revisionists have shown the subjugation of particular portions of the population, Leloudis joins other post-revisionists in showing that the relationship between oppressor and oppressed was not so simple. Leloudis shows that southern blacks employed "a strategy of survival [complicit with] the reality of white rule but at the same time searched the crevices of white supremacy for every opportunity for black power and self determination."[35]

Profession." History of Education Quarterly 39, No. 4 (1999): 427-453.; James Leloudis, Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Schooling, 1880-1920. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[33] MacDonald, 1999.

[34] V. P. Franklin, review of Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina 1880-1920, by James L. Leloudis, The Journal of American History 83 (March 1997): 1424. This book review identifies this history as the "close relationship between the rise of the New South and the coming of the new education to North Carolina.

[35] William A. Link, review of Schooling in the South: Pedagogy, Self, and Schooling, 1880-1920, by James L. Leloudis, The American Historical Review 102 (Jun 1997): 906-7. Leloudis quoted in Link, 1997, p. 906-907.

Post-revisionism has taken the history of many more individuals into its fold: not just social classes as we see in the revisionists. Minorities become a larger focus as MacDonald has heralded the historical endeavors of the Latinos; Leloudis has provided similar work regarding Southern Blacks. The focus of the less fortunate in both camps of the Revisionists and the Post-Revisionists has jointly spurred the consideration of another group: those with disabilities.

Current State of Literature in the History of Special Education and Placement of Dissertation in the Historiographic Realm

The current state of the history of special education is one of development. Authors in this area of specialization have not created well-defined camps as in the broader body of history of American education. Seminal works such as Winzer's (1985) The History of Special Education have laid out the information basis for other works such as Franklin's (1994) From "Backwardness to At-Risk" and Brenzel's (1985) Daughters of the State, and helped carve niches from which smaller but more in depth and more analytical histories have emerged.[36] Authors have nearly universally seen their works to be a springboard into future work and enrichment to the literature that is somewhere between that of a juvenile and mature state. The history of special education has yet to experience a golden era as the broader literature from which it sprang saw decades ago. While we might explain that special education is currently undergoing its leap from its own traditional camp into other modes of inquiry, it also appears

[36] Margaret A Winzer, The History of Special Education: From Isolation to Integration (Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1993).

that special education history is most analogous to the current literature of post-revisionism.

Pertinent Works in the Current Body Literature

There is clearly a growing body of literature in the area of the history of special education. This dissertation seeks to recognize this body of literature including several related but unpublished dissertations and theses. These unpublished works have not had a noticeable impact upon the body of literature but remain valuable. The body of literature is small and thus any available information must be welcomed. The unpublished works do provide a guide to the practice of performing historical analyses and may provide guidance in the area of institutional history relating to special education. With the current state of the literature, it would be imprudent to turn away any potential source without at least cursory consideration. Below are the current works that have been referenced thus far in the investigation.

The first three works are introduced to provide context of the larger movement of educating those with disabilities during the close of the 19th Century into the early 20th Century. In this way, these texts are likely to help enrich the contextual understanding of the study where primary sources may lack such detail. Each of these books is not necessarily analytical in nature but provide more of a recapitulation of the major events related to the topic. These works are included because they enumerate some of the major developments in the provision of special education in the South but do not offer a great deal of analysis as we have come to expect in a traditional sense of literature. However, because these works deal with a group of individuals who have been traditionally ignored by historians of education, we may choose to ascribe these authors to the revisionist camp because they help to build a road from one area

of historiographic inquiry to a new path exclusively concerning individuals with disabilities.

Brasington's The South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind 1849-1999 presents the first 150 years of the institution from its inception to its growth in a more modern form.[37] While the content of the work may not be entirely applicable to the history of FSDB, it may serve as a guide for what types of information to present in the final work. Brasington does not offer analysis but provides a reporting of events in the history of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind. The simple timeline and reporting of names and events does provide some guidance toward what questions we may ask in uncovering the history of FSDB.

Kerr's The Florida School for the Deaf and Blind Centennial, provides a wealth of pictures that help to fill in holes of the early history.[38] However, the focus of this text appears to be on the later years that show a great deal of change from the humble origins of the school. Clearly, an aim of this work is to show the rich history of the school and to identify an organizational culture that has helped FSDB mature into a modern educational facility from its humble origins. Again, this work does not provide real analysis but is more of a simple timeline and reporting of names and events in the history of FSDB. In some ways, this work may act as a skeleton on which I may hang my analytical work and begin to flesh out a much more detailed reporting of the unfolding of events, the confluence of forces and the acts of people leading toward the development of FSDB.

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[37] JoAnn Mitchell Brasington, The South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind: 1849-1999 (Spartanburg, S.C.: South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind, 2000).

[38] Thomas R. Kerr, Florida School for the Deaf and Blind Centennial: A Pictorial History of the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1885 - 1985 (St. Augustine, FL: Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1985).

In addition, there are a number of other general works that cover a wider breadth of study such as general movement histories or statewide histories. Winzer's History of Special Education is one of the seminal works that many authors considering the historical development of special education turn to for guidance.[39] Winzer does not always argue a point but provides the information basis from which others authors can begin arguments. Winzer lays out a factual progression of the history of special education with less work in analysis. The connection between enlightenment thought and the growing sympathy for those in need of special education is the most in-depth analysis that Winzer offers. The additional sections of Winzer's text are essentially devoted to the identification of important dates, actors, issues, and institutions in the development of special education. The lone argument woven into the fabric of the text is the development of the treatment of special populations from ignored to isolated to segregated to integrated; as new ways of thinking about those with disabilities emerge, so do new ways of educating such populations.

In many ways, this text is comparable to Cubberley's Public Education in the United States.[40] There have been studies of special education before Winzer but few have been able to provide such a wide panoramic view of the discipline's landscape. As Cubberley organized the ideas of American education to launch the future modes of inquiry in the field, Winzer has done the same for the niche of special education.

Franklin's From Backwardness to At-Risk provides such a historical explication for those with learning disabilities; this may help to serve as a textual guide while not necessarily adding to the content of this study.[41] One of Franklin's main arguments

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[39] Winzer, 1993.

[40] Cubberley, 1947.

[41] Barry M. Franklin, From "Backwardness to At-Risk:" Childhood

is that the curriculum created for 'backward' students started as something true to the ideal of the common school in the face of rising diversity in the public schools systems of the early 20th century but eventually devolved into separate and unequal. Schneider writes "teacher's opposition, bureaucratic indifference, and concerns about cost proved major obstacles to having public schools educate learning-disabled students more imaginatively."[42] While it is not the intention of the dissertation to provide comparison between the typical curriculum and that of the FSDB, Franklin raises awareness concerning the effectiveness of the curriculum and directs us to question whether the student population of FSDB is rightfully educated in this environment.[43]

Osgood's For "Children Who Vary from the Normal Type" also provides a history of exceptional pupils; its scope is the Boston area from the mid-1800s into the 1930s. Osgood explores various programs instituted in Boston including those specialized facilities for "incorrigibles" as well as those for the deaf and mentally retarded.[44] The exploration of such programs includes a heavy reliance upon the words of various policy actors as well as public records. In the end, Osgood slides into a policy discussion of the battle between integration and separation of identified special populations of students. Osgood states "a primary purpose of this study has been to examine some of the

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Learning Difficulties and the Contradictions of School Reform (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

[42] Eric C. Schneider, review of From "Backwardness" to "At-Risk": Childhood Learning Difficulties and the Contradiction of School Reform, by Barry M. Franklin, The Journal of American History 82 (September 1995): 810.

[43] Franklin, 1994; Schneider 1995. With the growing medicalization of learning disabilities, Franklin argues that some youth were improperly labeled and perhaps educated in an improper environment.

[44] Robert L. Osgood, For "Children Who Vary from the Normal Type:" Special Education in Boston, 1838 – 1930 (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2000), p. 119. Osgood identifies House of Reformation as meeting the needs of the incorrigibles or the most

early history of special education. . . to better understand the potential obstacles and opportunities inherent in a more inclusive approach to the education of public school students with disabilities."[45] The dissertation will seek to avoid making the same mistake of neglecting a significant portion of history and then trying to direct a fully informed policy discussion. While Osgood does provide an excellent history of education in his span of consideration, he fails to convincingly direct the discussion. The text does however provide a well- developed and richly drawn historical analysis that stands as model scholarship. The dissertation will attempt to bring in the words of informed leadership where possible as Osgood has done so well.

Similarly, Brenzel's Daughters of the State provides a ready-made guide to writing about the history of special education without directly providing relevant evidence for the study of FSDB. Brenzel offers an exploration of the social and political forces that shaped the creation and development of the State Industrial School for Girls in Lancaster, Massachusetts from the 1870s into the early 20th century. In Daughters of the State, Brenzel argues this institution was the result of several committees that convened during the mid to late 19th Century including the Fay Committee that revealed a new American orientation which saw the "rehabilitative power of education;" this is a clear divergence from the European preference of "occupational or practical training."[46] Another influential committee cited by Brenzel was the Foster Committee, which sought to further "future prosperity and moral integrity of the community."[47] Brenzel also discusses the rise and fall of Social

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serious youth offenders, delinquents and truant.

[45] Ibid., p. 167.

[46] Barbara Brenzel, Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905 (Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 1985), p. 63.

[47] Ibid, p. 37.

Darwinism in the discussions of social order. A final and important argument that Brenzel offers is a question of the extent to which the institution changed because of the changing nature of the individuals served. In closing, Brenzel explains "Lancaster is of course the story of a reform institution for poor girls. We need similar portraits of other institutions to begin to compare the reform treatments of both genders and also to gain understanding of earlier efforts to alter the lives of those labeled deviant."[48] Clearly, each of these works provide some parallels between the development of the their institutions of concern and FSDB. While each might not directly serve to further discovery of evidence of the development of FSDB, the historical understandings presented in these studies may prove to be useful in demonstrating a general understanding of the treatment of deviants during the period of interest.

An additional source for general context for understanding Deaf history is Baynton's Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language.[49] Baynton lays out a strong foundation to understand the progression of Deaf culture and education of deaf students in a historical context by exploring the creation of facilities and a clear summary of the progression of a Deaf language, and a superior description of the struggle between the two camps of deaf educators at odds. There are no exculpatory arguments to avert blame of the oralists as eugenicists nor does it exonerate the manualist camps of misdirection. Baynton attempts to place "this struggle between the 'manualists' and the 'oralists' into its very broadest cultural context, seeking to offer fresh perspectives on the shifting ways in which Americans have conceptualized human

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[48] Ibid, p. 167.

[49] Douglas C. Baynton, Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

history."[50] On one side, the oralists, aided by powerful academics such as Alexander Graham Bell, push for the education of the deaf through lip reading, and learning to create sounds and vocalize to communicate with non-deaf individuals. The opposing manualists calling for the instruction of deaf students though the use of sign language and finger spelling. In many ways, this is a battle between the oralists trying to fully integrate deaf individuals to the hearing world and the manualists who sought to educate and train deaf students in a way most accommodating to their difference. Baynton clearly lays out one of the most thorough explanations of this significant struggle in the history of education.

Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses

Many of these dissertations and theses were never published but still offer useful case studies and institutional histories to situate Florida's experience. One of the only theses to focus solely on an institutional history was the master's thesis, A Silent World in the Intermountain West: Records from the Utah School for the Deaf and Blind, 1884-1941 by David Steven Evans.[51] Evans explores the coming together of the hearing and the deaf in the early history of the Utah institution relying mainly upon public documents especially the board of trustee minutes and the superintendent reports. Evan's dissertation also allows a unique glimpse into the educational, social and organizational aspects of a special education institution.

Massachusetts and Florida have also been the subjects of the history of special education but in terms of statewide policy

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[50] Tamara Plakins Thorton, review of Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language, by Douglas C. Baynton, in The Journal of American History 84 (September 1997): 656.

[51] David Steven Evans, "A Silent World in the Intermountain West: Records from the Utah School for the Deaf and Blind, 1884–1941" (Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 1999).

appearing in two noteworthy studies. First, Wendy Marie Cullar's doctoral dissertation, State Policy for the Education of Exceptional Students of Florida, 1869-1979, provides a statewide study of policy yet lacks the detail relative to the FSDB that I seek to provide.[52] Cullar explores the changing definition of state policy regarding special education and discusses the influences upon such education in the state of Florida. This dissertation is likely to provide a great deal of guidance in my dissertation; however, Cullar's aim appears to be informing the policy discussion in a more modern time whereas this dissertation will dive more deeply into the historical analysis of issues of greater scope than simply policy in a more remote span of time from the 1880s stopping short of 1920. My historical analysis can also test Cullar's suppositions that the legislature dominated the policy-making process and the influence of the Florida Department of Education maintain strong influence through leadership continuity as well as a commitment to long-range planning.

Second, the Harvard doctoral dissertation of Nicholas Michael Balasalle, A History of Public policy for the Education of Handicapped Children in Massachusetts, provides another statewide history that focuses upon policy. Balasalle looks at the role of the state legislature in the development of special education policy from the colonial period through the late 19th century, leaping into the late 20th century to make comment about the more recent policies regarding children with special needs.[53] While the author may engage in some presentist ideas by ignoring the developments between the late 19th century and the late 20th century, Balasalle does point out two important developments in

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[52] Wendy Marie Cullar, "State Policy for the Education of Exceptional Students in Florida, 1869-1979" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Florida, 1981).

[53] Nicholas Michael Balasalle, "A History of Public Policy for the Education of Handicapped Children in Massachusetts" (Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1980).

the provision of special education: first, the withdrawal from the purely welfare-related reasons for provisions of such schools and second, the development of residential schooling for the most profoundly handicapped.

Texas is another school that has been the subject of studies of effectiveness.[54] Jo Ann Ford's Educational Effectiveness for the Visually Handicapped – Texas School for the Blind provides some detail to the institutional history as necessary to present evidence of effectiveness in the provision of education to exceptional students; however it doesn't truly provide the comprehensive institutional history necessary to provide the ability to make comparisons except regarding its very tight band of consideration of data: the provision of life skill, vocational, and orientation/mobility training for students. Ford sought to ascertain the effectiveness of the curriculum of the Texas School for the Blind in these specific areas. The overall findings based on telephone interviews and surveys was that the school was not functionally equipping graduates for further education or basic life skills, calling for revamping the curriculum to place greater emphasis on mainstreaming into society. This work also points to the use of schooling for the disabled and how it may best serve their need to function independently in society.

Review of Non-Literature Source Material

The materials for this dissertation will consist of various primary and secondary documents.[55] Although there are many

[54] Jo Ann Ford, "Educational Effectiveness for the Visually Handicapped – Texas School for the Blind" (Doctoral Dissertation, Texas A&M University, 1981).

[55] After exploring the records held by St. Augustine Historical Society, it appears there is a modest wealth of material of clearly local interest. There are many old clippings from issues of the local

documents that have disappeared over the years, many useful documents created by the staff and students of the deaf and blind school as well as other materials created by the political body of the State of Florida still remain. Thus far, the study has relied almost exclusively upon primary documents created by the state and its entities. It is a goal to uncover some secondary documents such as newspaper articles and other remembrances from the St. Augustine of years past. This review will first present the most important primary documents followed by other sources collected or cited thus far.

Annual and Biennial Report of the President, Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1883-1917

At various times this report was printed either annually or biennially under the direction of the presidents of FSDB.[56] This report was a device for informing the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the current state and future needs of the institution. The report was a tool of accountability, because of this the information contained within strives to put the school in a favorable light while making it possible for the President to plead for needed materials and funding. Despite the political

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St. Augustine newspaper, The Record or The Saint Augustine Evening Record. The supervisor of deaf printing at FSDB was a long time employee of the newspaper. Although the hope was to find many articles written about the institution and the industrial magnate Flagler to help fill in gaps of information or otherwise provide support material related to the local context in which the school operated during its formative years, little existed to meet this but there was an abundance of short informational announcements related to FSDB. Despite the lack of depth, there is still a use in building a better understanding of the institution in the articles available.

[56] There are frequent changes to the reporting format of the report of the chief of FSDB. The publication was sometimes printed annually and at other times was printed biennially. There is no clear explanation but speculating it might be due to reporting requirements from the State or the choice of the school's executive head. Sometimes the report is called the President's report while at other times called the Superintendent Report. This is due to the school's head being called the Superintendent from 1885 until 1906 when Albert Walker

slant of the document, the information within is quite detailed for some years and often describes the motivation for certain policies on campus or reasons for personnel changes. For example, teachers came and went regularly. The Report often states that a teacher left to be married, or a teacher left to take another position at a different institution. Even the business-like reporting tool reminds us that this is an institution run by and for individuals; the report does not mechanically report finances and square feet.

These reports were sometimes printed on the FSDB Printing press by boys of the deaf department of the school. These reports provide general information about the attending students: their origins, race, gender, and disabilities. Financial statements and lists of faculty, staff, and officers are provided. Each issue provides a generalized history, transcript of the legislation that authorized the institution or some other institutionally-significant information at the end. The issues contain information about new facilities or equipment, methods of instruction, rules, regulations, and other general information pertaining to the functioning of the institution. Spread throughout each issue are useful photographs of the grounds, facilities, staff and students.[57] This is the extent of the human side of the facility. The President's report was one source of less business-like snippets of information perhaps due to the intended audience.

The Florida School Herald

Similar to the President's Report, The Herald has a much more humane side due to the nature of the publication as a

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became the first head of the school to use the title President.

[57] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, Learning Together: A History of Co-education in American Public Schools (Troy, NY: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1992). The Appendix served as a guide for use of photography in the dissertation.

monthly magazine to showcase the accomplishments of the school while providing hands-on printing experience for the deaf department boys.[58] This is a student-created publication that tends to have personalized information about the students. The Herald has its target in those interested in the facility, potential donors, and possibly current and perspective student's parents. While this publication also has some information about the institution, it also contains more humanistic information about the well-being of students: who received care packages from home, who received visitors, who won the spelling bee, who had been ill and other specific events on campus. The Herald also contains short stories written by students or other pieces of student work. This tends to be more like a display of the institutional culture. There is also an apparent publicity element of this publication, highlighting the benefit the school provides to student and state.

Annual and Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida, 1881-1917

The Superintendent's Reports were professionally printed in the Capitol for the more sophisticated purpose of reporting to various arms of the government as well as providing archival government data. These reports were much more business-like in tone and content. The FSDB President's reports and The Herald focused solely upon FSDB. In contrast, the Superintendent's Reports, reported on the conditions of statewide educational facilities and policies and as a result, FSDB often received little attention. For the fiscal years 1883 and 1884, FSDB enjoyed its first full page in the Superintendent's Report.

[58] This publication is known by several names: The Florida School Herald, The Florida Institute Herald, The Institute Herald or simply The Herald.

Often the information provided was very cursory and lacking meaningful detail. In the early 1890s, the Superintendent Report also began printing a letter from the President of FSDB that often contained pleas for further funding, more equipment, or additional staff. In the early 1900s, attendance and financial issues became a paramount concern as the report covered FSDB with an expansive 13 pages in the 1906-1908 Biennial Report. Despite the more business-like tone, FSDB was gaining a foothold in the educational terrain of Florida as a serious institution serving the "unfortunates."[59]

American Annals of the Deaf

The American Annals of the Deaf is the most useful source for highlighting debates in the area of deaf education from the mid-19th century into the 20th century. It was a combination of compilation of speeches, written articles, essays as well as a source for news related to the institutions across the US involved in the education of the deaf and a report of the minutes of the association's meeting. News presented in the Annals mentions individual institutions in nearly all issues. This particular section is useful for filling in gaps of information related to the employment of staff and faculty at FSDB where information was unavailable elsewhere. The Annals demonstrate that the movement of deaf education was spreading quickly throughout the nation and Florida's institution was but one in

[59] Florida Department of Public Instruction, Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tallahassee, F.L.: W.N. Shine, State Printer, 1881-1895. The Report of the Superintendent for Public Instruction often referred to the blind and deaf children of Florida as unfortunates as evidenced in the 1883-1884. While not politically correct today, the use of the term then perhaps represents a new idea in which the "unfortunate" were so situated through no fault of their own and deserved aid to become productive citizens.

larger national phenomenon. Unlike the other non-literature sources for this dissertation, the Annals tend to offer a glimpse into tensions between competing forces working to develop the field of deaf education. The Annals are often the showcase of speeches presented by professionals in the field working to influence the nationwide body of practitioners.

Chapter Commentary

Given the current state of the literature of history of special education, this dissertation begins to fill the void of institutional histories and seek enrichment of the literature. Authors such as Winzer (1993) and Franklin (1994) provide a wide panoramic view of the field without catching the detail of the smaller stories such as institutional histories. Osgood (2000) and Brasington (2000) are among the authors looking at the smaller issues in a case study format. Case studies are an excellent way to illuminate special circumstances in a particularistic realm but can often ignore or lack sufficient detail of the larger trends or background events while broader studies can otherwise provide an understanding of larger forces working to bring about exhibited changes. One such case study from Kerr (1985) provides some highly useful historical data but falls into what amounts as a nostalgic glimpse over the sunny days of FSDB. Unfortunately, it appears as the authors move closer to the subject and narrow into a particular field, bias seems to infiltrate; the larger picture falls away yet the more minute detail becomes understandable. While the case studies help to illuminate minute detail of a particular situation, the issues can appear to be parochial and lacking in connection to the larger whole of education. However, those studies that paint broad overarching themes relating several examples to the larger ideas often lack the rich and full understanding of any one particular institution. Optimally, this dissertation will

balance these ideals that appear to be at odds: particularistic versus comprehensive.

This dissertation draws from a wide array of sources in the traditional forms of historiographic research, the developing body of special education literature and other non-literature sources. Some of the most important literature comes the primary documents including The Herald, The Annual and Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. These documents offer glimpse into the past beyond just the information contained in the pages. The major authors of the field offer secondary sources from which to extend analysis and make connections. Winzer, Baynton, Osgood, Longmore, and Umansky all provide works from which future studies will always find grounding. The multitude of unpublished theses and dissertations referenced here provide the inspiration to continue the trend to fill in the puzzle of the history of special education with each small piece. Some authors just help to clarify fine points or corroborate the questionable findings. In the end, each author helps to contribute to the singular aim to provide an unvarnished and fair recount of the history of FSDB using varied sources by carefully balancing and negotiating the input of each.

This dissertation begins to fill a void in the current special education literature. In some ways this work is similar to the few works that already exist. First, many recognize that there is a paucity of current institutional histories from which to draw. Second, these similar works also rely heavily upon primary documents but also draw upon previous studies and secondary sources where available. Eventually, this fragmented collection of histories will find a place in the larger literature of the history of education within the realm of post-revisionism. It is likely the collection may splinter into its own identifiable branch of post-revisionism.

CHAPTER 2

BIRTH OF FLORIDA'S EDUCATIONAL CROWN JEWEL: THE EARLY HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FSDB THROUGH 1887

"The tendency in the past was often to over-protect the unfortunate and to hide them from the public view."[1] While the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind (FSDB) was an institution that continued to hide those with disabilities, it also brought such individuals together to train and educate them for a better way of life. FSDB helped to open a new dawn for deaf and blind children in the state of Florida by focusing upon ways to end the status-quo of over-protection and patronization; instead the deaf and blind children would be enabled to provide for themselves. In short, the aim of FSDB was to bring the children with disabilities from their "silence and darkness."[2]

This chapter of the dissertation will examine aspects of the development of FSDB during a key period of its infancy that later impact institutional maturity in the early 20th century. Guided by the idea of providing a greater understanding of each

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[1] Thelma M. Horne, "Some Aspects of the Program of Special Education in Hillsborough County, Florida" (Master's Thesis, University of Florida, 1952), p. 10.

[2] This quote comes from a statement made by former FSDB President, A. H. Walker, in his report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction: Florida State Department of Education. Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1910, p. 201. Walker wrote "So long as we may be assured of this 'oneness of aim' in our corps of teachers and officers, of this assistance of those around us, of this provision of our legislatures, and of the zeal on the part of the State Board of Control and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, so

of three basic areas of inquiry, this study tells the story of the external forces influencing the creation and operation, the institutional administrative and academic structure, as well as the student life and instruction of FSDB.

External Forces Influencing Creation and Operation of the Institution

The 1883 legislature of Florida under Governor Bloxham had been "distinguished for liberality in the cause of education."[3] This stance is directly related to Bloxham's view of an educated public voting for elected officials. Bloxham once said, "there is no subject more important than popular education. . . universal suffrage demands universal education as its protector, for while the ballot is more potent a weapon, when wielded by ignorance, there is no more dangerous to free government."[4] In keeping with Bloxham's push on education in the early 1880s, Florida's leadership created new educational facilities including an extraordinary number of common schools, normal schools, and an institute for the deaf and blind.

While the leadership failed to complete some of its goals such as establishing a university in Tallahassee, the accomplishments were great enough to distinguish the governing body of the time as champions of education. Adams states the "improved financial condition of the state permitted better support of Florida's institutions. . . removed from the exigencies of war and reconstruction, directed their attention to

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long will the efforts put forth to educate our children of 'silence and darkness' under Divine guidance be crowned with success."

[3] Rowland H. Rerick, Ed., Memoirs of Florida, Vol. 1 and 2 (Atlanta, G.A.: Southern Historical Association, 1902).

[4] Quoted from Governor Bloxham's January 2, 1883 annual message in Leedell W. Neyland, "State Supported Higher Education Among Negroes in the State of Florida." The Florida Historical Quarterly 43 (1964)

the improvement of the state's cultural, social, and intellectual environment."[5] Tourism contributed to the development of a sound economy along with a robust expansion of the population of Florida. Then-Superintendent of Public Instruction Sheats called this a time of "brilliant growth" portending future prosperity.[6] Bloxham and his administration constituted an essential force in the creation of the school but many other forces came together to strongly influence the process.

The Census and the Growing Population of Deaf

The 1881-82 Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction reported that there are "about 119 of these unfortunate people [deaf mutes] in the State. About 78 of them are within the school age. Some institution should be started in which they can be taught the mute language."[7] It is significant that there are some murmurs of the beginnings of the FSDB in the Superintendent's Biennial Report. Perhaps the publication of the census data reporting over 100 deaf mutes in the state, stirred some interest if not awareness of a growing issue. Soon murmurs would appear in various sources. The April 10, 1882 Florida Dispatch briefly mentioned Asylums and Prisons in a question and answer format by-line:

> Q: How are your deaf, dumb and blind persons provided for?
> A: There are not many in the State. They are cared for by their relatives and friends. Next winter it is

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[5] Alfred H. Adams, "A History of Public Higher Education in Florida: 1821-1961" (Doctoral Dissertation, Florida State University, 1962), p. 100.

[6] Biennial Report, 1894, p. 51. cited in Adams, 1962, p. 100.

[7] Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1883, p. 23.

possible that the state will make some provision for them.[8]

In the meantime, larger, humanitarian-aimed movements were developing. Hewett and Forness support the idea that Enlightenment rationality was the motivating force behind changes that swept the 18th Century but it was the work of individuals that had the greatest impact in the 19th Century.[9] Leaders such as Dorothea Dix, who pioneered the creation of mental hospitals, and Louis Braille, who created a widely used method of reading and writing for the blind, made it possible for others to bring wider appreciation and acceptance to causes of many social pioneers.

Advocates, Humanitarians and Social Pioneers

Several members of the Gallaudet family, Samuel Gridley Howe and Alexander Graham Bell were all social pioneers as tireless advocates for the education of the deaf. Bell authored many articles and papers related to the deaf in society but in the early 1880s he wrote several that were particularly critical of the segregation of the deaf.[10] Howe, in particular, was an advocate for public education for blind and deaf individuals. The Gallaudets were active as teachers, scholars, administrators, and advocates for the deaf. Together, these social reform

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[8] The Florida Dispatch, 10 April 1882, p. 51.

[9] F. M. Hewett and S. R. Forness, Education of Exceptional Learners, 2nd Ed (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1977).

[10] While Bell was an advocate for the education of the deaf, he was not always supportive of the deaf culture or segregation of the deaf. He openly feared the creation of a deaf race of humans by their segregation and sought to find ways to incorporate the deaf into larger society to stave off such outcomes.

advocates made it possible for the spread and development of what eventually would be known as special education.

The advocate for FSDB originally was Thomas Hines Coleman, a student at Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., and a graduate of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind. He sought to follow in the footsteps of T. H. Gallaudet, founder of Gallaudet College, and bring education to others in America.[11] Coleman saw other classmates taking up the cause of starting new schools for the deaf and/or blind throughout the United States and he decided to do the same. With family in the State and a clear vision of following in the footsteps of Reverend T. H. Gallaudet, Coleman decided to explore the possibility of seeing to the creation of a school for the deaf in Florida. In April 1882, a soon-to-be graduate of Gallaudet University, Coleman began a correspondence with Governor Bloxham to help launch a school for the deaf in Florida. It appears that Bloxham or members of his administration were amenable to the idea of a school for the deaf but were also concerned for the education of the blind. Sometime in the fall of 1882, Bloxham wrote to Coleman requesting that he find census numbers for both deaf and blind individuals of Florida. With the aid of Dr. E. M. Gallaudet, Coleman decided that the Maryland School would be a good model for the Florida school. With a minimum appropriation of $20,000, the school would grow from three original buildings that could be connected later as the need for greater space arose.[12]

As a state-institution, the maintenance and support of FSDB was the responsibility of the legislature and executives of

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[11] According to a speech given by T. H. Coleman, he saw this as a destiny to found such a school if only for the coincidence of having the same initials as the founder of Gallaudet.

[12] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, "How I came to Found the Florida School: An Address by Thos. H. Coleman before the Florida Association of the Deaf at its 1920 Meeting." The Florida School Herald 33 (May 1923): 116-7.

Florida. Then-Governor Bloxham and his administration had been champions of the FSDB cause. Something tangible had changed in the State of Florida in the realm of education under Bloxham; however, the seeds of change were evident in the earlier Constitutions of Florida. The immediate spark had to do with improved financial condition of the state not to mention the drive of Thomas Hines Coleman to found a school in the state.

Under the Bloxham Administration

In 1881, Hamilton Disston, Governor Bloxham, and representatives of the Internal Improvement Fund (IIF) negotiated a deal that would allow Disston to drain wetlands in South Florida in exchange for half of the reclaimed land and purchase land in Florida; Disston purchased four million reclaimed acres at the price of 25 cents per acre.[13] From this venture, Disston had opened waterways in Southern Florida to steamboat traffic. In addition to the immediate influx of money to the state coffers, the stage was set to enable future growth in Florida's tourism. Henry Flagler completed the first rail service between New York and St Augustine in 1885. Together these changes would advance tourism as well as commerce. The influx of desperately needed funds made the support of education a reality for Florida.

Clearly, some of this change was a direct result of the leadership of the Bloxham administration sparked by an influx of new funds and the potential for future revenue; however, other changes were the political fallout from the treatment of Florida under Radical Reconstruction. From Florida's 1838 Territorial Constitution until the 1868 Reconstruction Constitution, there were no changes to the wording of the two sections of the article

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[13] PALMM Project, State University System of Florida. "Everglades Timeline: Reconstruction Era Comes to the Everglades (1865-1900)." http://everglades.fiu.edu/reclaim/timeline/timeline5.html (10 February 2003).

related to education. Essentially, the article states that lands given to Florida for education will remain dedicated to that purpose, and the General Assembly will take measures to preserve education. The 1868 Reconstruction Constitution expanded the scope of education in Florida by starting the Common School Fund, formalizing taxation dedicated to education, setting governing bodies and declaring in section one: "It is the paramount duty of the State to make ample provision for the education of all the children residing within its borders, without distinction or preference."[14] The 1885 Constitution expanded upon the governance and financial arrangement for the provision of education in the state but then made clear distinctions between its children; it is here that the reaction to Radical Reconstruction is evident. Section 12 read, "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provision shall be made for both."[15]

Reporting to the Governor in 1887, Superintendent of Public Instruction, A. J. Russell wrote: "The afflicted of both races are admitted to the benefit of this school, and are taught and fare alike, but in entirely different buildings and at different hours."[16] By the time of this report in 1887, Russell lauded FSDB as being "in a flourishing condition, having at last found its way to the hearts and appreciation of the parents and friends of the afflicted children of the State."[17] The year 1887 demarcates a turning point from institutional infancy to a period of growth and recognition.

For the initial years of existence, FSDB was unable to attract a significant number of students. The Superintendent of

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[14] The Constitution of the State of Florida, 1868, Article X.

[15] The Constitution of the State of Florida, 1885, Article XII.

[16] Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1887, p. 14.

[17] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Public Instruction revealed that it was nearly "impossible to obtain the consent of the parents of these unfortunates to allow them to leave their homes and attend."[18] However, the 1887-88 school opened with an enrollment of 23 residential students who demonstrated "educational advancement [especially regarding communication] but of a healthy moral growth, and a home influence greatly to be desired."[19] The 1888 Superintendent Report stated that FSDB accepted students between the ages of six and 21.[20] It was unclear what precipitated acceptance of FSDB among parents of deaf and blind students. Despite the gains, there was room for improvement in attracting students. In the 1888-89 school year, FSDB attracted 25 students from among the 83 blind and 87 deaf individuals between the ages of four and 21 identified in the most recent state census information.[21] Because of the burgeoning enrollment, Russell also used the report as a tool for requesting an additional teacher for the blind while commending the work of Professor Terrell and Mrs. King as instructors of the blind and the support of Terrell's wife as a school matron.

Saint Augustine and its Local Influence on FSDB

St. Augustine also appeared to be undergoing some modernization: culturally and economically. As St. Augustine was beginning to enjoy a reputation as a playground for tourists, more money came in to modernize the city with new access to railways and more expansive tourist accommodations while FSDB was literally being planned and raised. During this time, visitors

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[18] Ibid., p. 14.

[19] Ibid., p. 14.

[20] Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1888, pp. 8-9.

[21] Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1888, p. 31.

wrote books and magazine articles about the newly developing tourist spot. One such piece was Hardy's Down South, a book detailing her travels in various northern Florida areas. In this book, which is effectively a personal travel journal, Hardy captures a glimpse of St. Augustine as it is about to be ushered into modernity.

In describing St. Augustine in her travels, Hardy writes "We are steeped to the lips in the spirit of the middle ages all round us, and everywhere we recognise (sic) the features and individualities of days dead and gone."[22] However, the more recent development of hotels seem anachronistic and heralding a new era for the city and its inhabitants. Hardy writes "The hotels, built expressly for the service of the travelling world, are the only touches of modern life we find herein – no other thing of modern birth dares lift its head in St. Augustine."[23] Hardy also reports a conversation with a local resident speaking of a great many people now coming to the area. Things were changing for the city: tourists, development, and eventually a modern birth. The incursions of Indians had ceased; stability and modernity were just around the corner for the city and the state of Florida as a whole. Rail development was booming from North to South; the trains brought more and more tourists and their greenbacks. Florida had lagged behind in development compared to the rest of the United States and was in a similar situation with regard to its treatment of education of the deaf and blind. A Golden Age for tourism and the flow of tourist dollars was unfolding.

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[22] Lady Mary MacDowell Duffus Hardy, Down South (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883), p. 160.

[23] Hardy, 1883, p. 161.

The Deaf Education "Golden Age"

Some educators would argue that the US had its own "Golden Age" in deaf education during the mid-1800s because of the growth in the practice of teaching such individuals. It was during this time of experimentation that some teachers began to question the effectiveness of teaching deaf students with special tools to meet special needs.

In response to then-present situation of deaf education Edgar Allen Fay wrote:

> We are none of us satisfied with the attainments in language ordinarily made by the deaf and dumb. The great majority of pupils born deaf graduate from our institutions without the ability to express their idea in correct idiomatic language, or to understand readily the language of books.[24]

Hutton and Halifax reported some teachers of the deaf "regard. . . a complete series of books. . . especially adapted to the Deaf and Dumb … as desirable or necessary – others deem. . . special textbooks only needful for the preliminary stages of the course, . . . after which the ordinary textbooks used for hearing and speaking children should be introduce."[25] Fay and his contemporaries Hutton and Halifax appear to have conflicting views on educating the deaf. Hutton and Halifax wrote, "special textbooks are necessary from the nature of the case. The condition and wants of the uneducated deaf-mutes are altogether

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[24] J. S. Hutton and A. M. Halifax, "Text Books for the Deaf and Dumb." American Annals of the Deaf 14 (1869): 211 quoted in Des Power and Gregory R. Leigh, "Principles and Practices of Literacy Development for Deaf Learners: A Historical Overview." Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education 5 (Winter 2000): 5.

[25] Hutton and Halifax, 1869, quoted in Power and Leigh, 2000, p. 5.

peculiar, and must therefore, *a priori*, require peculiar treatment."[26]

While Fay reported outcomes as evidence, Hutton and Halifax presented an argument of special circumstance to meet special needs. Neither camp seemed to have made great inroads during this span but education of the deaf had nonetheless taken on a larger role in the minds of American educators. These arguments over curricular tools such as textbooks never really seemed to be resolved. Instead, multiple methods coexisted and some ebbed and flowed in popularity over time. This was but one example of the professional differences that existed among educators but clearly from such disagreements, refinements to each model arose.

Institutional Administrative and Academic Structure

The 1881-82 Biennial Report mentions (in a small 5 line reference to deaf mutes) that the expectation for the support of a deaf school would be provided through a small appropriation from the state and payment of tuition by the home county school board of the student.[27] The tune of subsequent Biennial Reports changed significantly. The 1883-84 report demonstrates that a number of activities were going on toward the opening of a new school. First, the education of the blind was added to the role of the new school. A location had been determined through a bidding process. A principal, C. H. Hill from the Maryland

[26] J. S. Hutton and A. M. Halifax, "Text Books for the Deaf and Dumb." American Annals of the Deaf, Second Article." American Annals of the Deaf 15 (1870): 242. Text quoted in Power and Leigh, 2000, p. 5.

[27] This appears in a mere five-line reference to deaf mutes in the State of Florida's Report documenting educational progress and opportunity statewide.

School for the Deaf, had been elected to oversee the new school.[28] It was the final decision that the institution would be fully funded through State appropriations although it had been initially considered that tuition would be charged. A new day was to dawn for the "unfortunates" of Florida.[29] The institute for the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb was established in Saint Augustine by the legislature in 1883. St. Augustine was chosen because it offered $1,000 and a donation of five acres of land for the creation of the school. William A. MacDuff bid $12,749 for the contract to construct the initial buildings on the new campus located in the north end of town.[30]

The original accommodations of FSDB were sufficient to house about sixty students.[31] The buildings had space for classrooms, a dining area, laundry facilities, and the President's Office on the first floor. The second floor housed the residence for the students, teachers, and the President. In these early times, cooking and cleaning relied on the boys carrying water from the reservoir to the building as well as toting logs to the central kitchen and the stoves to provide heat

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[28] This appointment was never confirmed and Hill was replaced with Park Terrell in early 1885 until his resignation at the end of the 1889-90 school year. Terrell was superintendent for the opening of the school in December of 1885. Thomas Everette Cochran, History of Public-School Education in Florida (Lancaster, P.A.: The New Era Printing Company, 1921), p. 104.

[29] The "unfortunates" or deaf-mutes were expected to be taken care of by family or friends. Left to life of dependency and the creation of a school for their education in Florida represents a new era in their treatment although there was still some calling the school an asylum or institution, its intention was to train and educate.

[30] It was unclear if this location was to be permanent for FSDB. Other sources indicate that William MacWilliams, a local lawyer and legislator had been instrumental in making this location permanent. Karen Harvey, St. Augustine and St. Johns County: A Pictoral History (Saint Augustine, FL: Donning Co. Publishers, 1980), p. 158.

[31] Kerr, 1985, p. 1. Kerr shows an undated photo of the three initial buildings. These buildings were later demolished around 1922.

for all three buildings.[32] In keeping with Southern mores, the new campus was expressly built for "accommodation of both races, separately, both as to living and study."[33] The original layout of the edifices shows the girls on the eastside of the second story separating the blind and the deaf. However, the west wing shows the older deaf boys and the older blind boys having accommodations separate from the younger boys. The teachers' residences were along the southern areas between the larger sections of the building on the second floor.[34] Overall, the buildings are intended to be a balance between utilitarian and accommodating as they "in many respects may be taken as typical Florida houses. . . with. . . a soft and pleasing effect" in a location "on the whole, the best that could be obtained anywhere in the neighborhood of St. Augustine."[35]

Thomas Hines Coleman recorded the best available description of the facilities in his article about FSDB, which appeared in the Annals of the Deaf, Volume 31, 1885. Coleman reported dimension and color, as well as the use and function of some of the grounds. The three buildings of FSDB were two-storied, ash-gray in color with salmon trimm [sic] and lining up 33 feet apart facing North, each with piazzas and verandas in the rear. Coleman does not spare any detail: "the sash and the shutters are of a red-brown or russet color. . . the ceilings of the piazzas are of a pale blue tint, approaching leaden. . . the frames, mouldings [sic], etc. on the first floor are of varnished

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[32] Ibid, p. 2. Based on the memories of Cary White and Carl Holland former students and staff members of FSDB.

[33] Biennial Report, 1884, p. 18.

[34] Kerr, 1985, p. 3. Graphic representation of the basic organization of the building facilities.

[35] Thomas Hines Coleman, "The Buildings of the Florida Institution." Annals of the Deaf 31 (1887): 157-8. Coleman wrote that the plans were modeled after physical layout of the School for the Deaf in Maryland and designed to accommodate future expansion of the facilties.

yellow pine; the stair-railing of walnut."[36] It is also noted that all buildings are furnished with rush carpeting when the hardwood flooring would be adequate. To demonstrate the pinnacle in the aesthetic considerations in the construction of FSDB, "a dome surmounts this building, and from it a very fine view of the city, bay, ocean, lighthouse, etc., can be obtained."[37]

To meet the physical needs of its students, FSDB offered from its artesian well "excellent sulphur water," which was thought to have potential health benefits and, in general, good for one's well-being.[38] FSDB also seemed to pride itself on the provision of socially demanded separation of the races and the sexes, which was believed to yield moral and social benefits. FSDB took great strides to maintain the proper and socially accepted separation of girls from boys and black from white to gain and foster approval from parents that seemed reluctant to allow their children to attend such a school.[39] Coleman reports "a partition wall runs across the hall, thus separating the sexes. . . six dormitories are in each end of the building –three on either side of the hall. . . the size of these rooms is 12 by 10 feet. . . 10 foot 7 in height. . . the two buildings are to separate the races."[40]

While the description of the facilities of FSDB are not necessarily historically interesting themselves, it is noteworthy to recognize that the inception of the school included such care in the appearance of the facility and its functionality as an educational institution. This care for detail is a departure

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[36] Ibid., p. 157.

[37] Ibid., p. 157. In reference specifically to the central building which also sports numerous bay windows throughout and houses the dormitories, the offices for staff, and the dining room/kitchen.

[38] Ibid., p. 158.

[39] Ibid., p. 158.

[40] Ibid., p. 158.

from the old modes of thinking that went into the creation of institutions such as asylums. It appeared that FSDB at least attempted to foster a pleasing facility for faculty, staff and student for educational purposes. Historical references to other special institutions such as SCSDB and the Kentucky School for the Blind are visibly void of such rich descriptions.[41] These descriptions tend to be spartan and bare, void of any reference to color or aesthetic properties other than dimension or orientation. However, the richness in the description of FSDB facilities represents a small but real step away from the asylum mentality as is also evident in the frequent appearances of printed material that address this issue.

Virtually all references to FSDB adamantly stress that it is not an asylum but a residential educational institution.[42] This is a reflection also of a larger change whereby education "was recast from the privilege of the few to a right of the majority, and deaf people in the United States were brought into close association."[43] This is evidenced by the nationwide expansion of state schools for the deaf and blind as well as the creation of a deaf university in the mid-1800s, Gallaudet College. Both movements began with the efforts of social

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[41] See Brasington, 2000 and Stoddard Johnson, Ed. History of the Founding of the Kentucky School for the Blind (Danville, KY: Kentucky School for the Blind, 1971). Both provide a history of their deaf and blind institutions respectively.

[42] A series of brief newspaper articles were published in the Florida Times Union between 1884 and 1885. Among these are the April 13, 1884, May 8, 1884, February 1, 1885 and October 2, 1885 articles that all associate FSDB with education, and development of the State of Florida especially the Oct 2, 1885 letter written by Park Terrell, Principal of FSDB. This appears to be part of an informational campaign to inform the public of the existence of FSDB and its value to Florida.

[43] Robert M. Buchanan, Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in School and Factory, 1850-1950 (Washington D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1999), p. xiii. Reference to a new idea of the 19th century where deaf individuals could be educated or trained in facilities not caged in asylums.

reformers and the role of such institutions soon gained public financial support because of wider social acceptance.

The Evolving Argument: Educating the Deaf

Essentially, the argument was no longer *should* we educate the deaf and blind but *how* do we do it. Much in the same way that there were battles between oral and manual instruction for the deaf students, there were battles over using Braille and the New York Point system or other tactile reading systems as Kudlick (2001) points out.[44] Publications were often a source of reaching wider social acceptance. Charles Campbell, publisher of Outlook, successfully showed issues of the blind to America using then-modern media while Wallace McGill, publisher of The Problem, sought support from those looking for social equality such as women or blacks but was much less successful.[45] In this example,

> both approaches would have unintended consequences and sometimes negative consequences: The Problem failed to garner sufficient political or monetary support, while Outlook gained these things at the expense of a movement organic to blind people themselves . . . yet each journal contributed much to the changing landscape on which the identity of blind Americans would develop.[46]

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[44] Catherine J. Kudlick, "The Outlook of The Problem and the Problem with The Outlook." The New Disability History: American Perspectives, Edited by Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 192. In this chapter, Kudlick discusses the differences between the two publication: The Problem and The Outlook each devoted to discussing issues of the blind and the reflection of their particular philosophical standpoint.

[45] Ibid., p. 208.

[46] Ibid., p. 208.

Similarly, the battle between oralism and manualism was decided in favor of the usefulness of oralism to individuals in the hearing world. This battle was fought in the newspapers and at the educational conferences and conventions.[47] Buchanan demonstrated the lack of complete conquest of oralism over manual instruction in a quote: "I would like to see some of the pure oralists a deaf man in a position of importance in their own business where his accuracy of lipreading (sic) would have a few of their dollars resting on it."[48] For all the rhetoric and grandstanding, oralism never fully conquered manual instruction although it loomed very large over the latter.

Administrative Structure

The leadership of FSDB consisted of its board of trustees, superintendent, administration, and faculty as well as the direction of the State through the legislature, the governor and the State Board of Education (aka the State Board of Managers). Hill had initially been elected to the post of superintendent of the school, but FSDB began operating in December of 1884 under the direction of its trustees and its first superintendent, Park Terrell taking the helm in early 1885 with classes beginning in February of 1885.[49] The institution also seemed to have a rather

[47] Buchanan, 1999, pp. 30-31.

[48] Ibid., p. 34 quote from "To Former Pupils And Graduates," Twentieth Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf, p. 317.

[49] Various sources use superintendent, president, and principal interchangeably when referring to the academic head of FSDB. It was Walker after 1900 who used the title President exclusively. While Hill had been elected to head the school, he never official acted in this role and FSDB actually opened its doors under Terrell.

warm supporter in Superintendent of Public Instruction, A. J. Russell, who notably lauds Terrell in his annual reports.[50]

For the period until 1887, FSDB enjoyed stability and some initial growth. Virtually all of the major decision makers remained constant until 1887, with the exception of the governor. It is unclear if Governor Perry did much to affect the function of FSDB as there is virtually no mention of the institution during his administration other than that the institution continued operation despite a tax increase and the increase in government responsibilities. Perhaps FSDB had been overshadowed by the creation of the State Board of Health mainly in response to the outbreaks of numerous communicable diseases in Florida and the increased support of other activities. Whatever the reason, Perry's influence on FSDB is insignificant compared to that of Bloxham.

Institutional Student Life and Instruction

Before the opening of FSDB, instructors of the blind vigorously debated the proper methods to instruct blind students in reading. The employment of Braille-like dot based systems often underwent many changes until instructors found a sufficient number of students who could "read with facility."[51] In 1871, the American Association of Instructors of the Blind adopted the New York Point System with the backing of the Superintendent of the St Louis School for the Blind, an early supporter and pioneer of the Braille Point System. The New York system, developed by William B. Wait, made the symbols used most often the most simple

[50] Biennial Report, 1885, p. 18. Russell was not reticent to give credit where it was due as he also credited his predecessor, EK Foster with starting the process of eliciting and reviewing proposals for the placement of the FSDB Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1883-1884.

[51] Mrs. Frederic R. Jones, "The Education of the Blind." Scribner's Magazine 12 (September 1892): 381.

like "the adoption of the principle of recurrence as used in the shorthand and telegraphy by which letters most frequently needed have the simplest forms."[52] A further refinement was added with the use of capital letters in 1878.

The various forms of dotted lettering systems were mainly developed through the study of Paris Braille by Dr. Samuel G. Howe, the educator of Laura Bridgeman and Principal of the Boston School for the Deaf and Blind; Dr. Russ, head of the New York school; and Mr. Friedlander, Principal of the Philadelphia School. The Paris form of Braille was a direct refinement of the work done by Louis Braille who based his dotted symbols on Barbier's more complex phonetic system.[53] Braille's system relied upon a device that had "the look of a miniature wash-board" but it could create 63 different signs including the alphabet and "accents, punctuation, figures, algebraic signs, and musical notations" while employing six dots.[54] The leaders in America, Howe, Russ and Friedlander, strongly based their work on the early printers and educators that came before them: Braille, Hauy, Gall, Fry, Alston, Lucas and Frere.[55]

The New York Point System grew in popularity through 1885. In 1882, an association of Superintendents of Blind Schools voted to ensure that fifty percent of future printing be in the New York Point System.[56] Jones speculates that this may be due to the

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[52] Ibid., p. 381. Wait was the principal of the New York School for the Blind, a lawyer turned educator.

[53] Louis Braille lost his sight at age four and had been educated in the Institution des Jeunes Aveugles studying a phonetic method of reading developed by Barbier. Winzer 1993; Jones 1892.

[54] Jones, 1892, p. 379.

[55] All in some fashion added to the development of a printed format of communication for the blind. Their work represents the experimentation in such methods influencing later work and leading down the path to further refinements.

[56] Winzer offers Table 6-3 to summarize the various Blind Reading systems. NY Point was considered a refinement of the Braille system because it took into account the frequency of use of each letter, with

fact that the Printing House for the Blind, created in 1858 by the Kentucky Legislature and supported by an annual appropriation of $10,000 from the US Congress, the "curious combination of business and charity" had recently invested a sum of $50,000 in plates to print in the NY system.[57] Financial reasons as well as technical reasons may be behind the success of the NY system. Reading was a major focus of the professional discussions of blind education associations. Reading, geography, arithmetic, and music as well as some vocational courses were the major focus of blind curriculum.

FSDB did not initially put a blind reading system into use because its initial enrollment consisted entirely of deaf students. In the beginning, FSDB employed Park Terrell as the Principal, M. D. Taylor as matron and Thomas Hines Coleman, noted founder of the school and Gallaudet graduate, as teacher.[58] Coleman initially taught the "necessarily limited [subjects of] articulation, facial expression, lip gesture, use of manual alphabet, lip reading, and writing."[59] From the start, FSDB employed a combined approach to instructing the deaf students using a combination of oral methods and manual methods. The oral methods were modes of instructing deaf students to speak so that they may better interact with hearing individuals. The manual method used a manual alphabet and language so that deaf individuals might communicate via a more natural language.

Similar to the way blind instruction seemed to battle over the use of various Braille-based systems, deaf educators fought

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the most frequently used letters represented by fewer dots. Winzer, 1993, p. 208.

[57] Jones, 1892, p. 381.

[58] American Annals of the Deaf, 1885, p. 170. Terrell had been a teacher at the Ohio Institution and Coleman a student of SCSDB and graduate of Gallaudet – then called the National College. Also of note the title of principal and superintendent were often used interchangeably in materials from FSDB.

[59] Cochran, 1921, p. 105.

over the use of manual and oral instruction. One vocal champion of the oral method was Alexander Graham Bell. In his "Fallacies Concerning the Deaf," Bell argues that past miracles of mutes cured by clergy were actually early attempts at teaching oral communication to deaf-mutes, because deaf individuals do not have defective speech organs, they should be able to speak; in fact, deaf individuals who practice speaking can speak.[60] Bell states "Speech is the mechanical result of certain adjustments of the vocal organs, and if we can teach deaf children the correct adjustments of the perfect organs they possess, they will speak. The difficulty lies in us."[61] This challenge also applies to the provision of other training related to speech reading, where pupils use clues from the lips to understand utterances. Bell's stance on manual communication seems somewhat confused. While he holds such communication in high regard as a tool to bring deaf individuals together, he advocates its abolition because it will alienate its users from their home; "the more he becomes habituated to its use the more he becomes a stranger to his own country."[62]

E. M. Gallaudet rebukes Bell's ideas of a natural language and lays out many reasons for the continued use of manual communication in the education of the deaf. While the "language of signs is kept in its proper position of subordination, . . . every teacher knows that fighting signs is like fighting original sin. Put Deaf children together and they will make signs

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[60] American Annals of the Deaf, 1884, p. 36.

[61] Ibid., p. 36.

[62] Ibid., p. 52. The argument is that user of the manual communication will associate only with others of such mode of communication and avoid speaking people. It is also possible that Bell wanted to limit association among the deaf because of his vocal opposition to the possibility of forming a new race or distinct variety of deaf humans. He gave many speech and wrote many papers similar to his 'The Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race.' An argument arising like a specter from the old issues of dealing with immigrants as reported in Baynton, 1996.

secretly, if not openly, in their intercourse with each other."[63] Lesser known individuals in the deaf education community continue the battle but it is never really won in the time span by either. It is clear, however that instruction focuses upon oralism during this time-period. Even those who practice teaching manual communication subordinate it to oral instruction. Perhaps the pragmatic Bell had hit upon the realization that the education of the deaf must make them better able to be active participants in American life. Manual communication does appear to make deaf individuals less able to interact with the hearing because speech reading and oral communication are in modes that hearing people do not have to alter their behavior in any way. No one idea becomes universal as some schools employ oral, manual, or combined methods of instruction.[64] Though oralism remained the preferred method, each method afforded a certain amount of utility to the students, and thus appeared in curricula nationwide.

FSDB employed a combined method of instruction because their founder and first instructor of the deaf had been instructed via this method. Thomas Hines Coleman was a graduate of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind (SCSDB) that employed separate departments for the manual and articulation methods of instruction.[65] N. F. Walker, former President of

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[63] Ibid., p. 64. Also refers to ideas from Sarah Porter quoted in American Annals of the Deaf, 1883, p. 191. Porter wrote about her experience as a deaf teacher in an oral school.

[64] Longmore, 1990, pp. 681-2. Longmore calls Alexander Graham Bell a fanatic oralist and eugenicist who oversaw the defeat of manualism as nearly every school but Gallaudet had become oralist. Van Cleve, John V. and Barry A. Crouch, A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America (Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1989). Looking to Van Cleve and Crouch, it appears that Gallaudet was the stronghold of deaf education and Deaf culture that remained relatively untouched by the hands of hearing individuals, whom overwhelmingly otherwise controlled deaf education.

[65] Coleman taught at FSDB from 1885 until 1889. In 1889, he returned to SCSDB to teach until his retirement in 1908. Brasington, 2000, p. 16.

SCSDB, wrote "the sign system. . . is best adapted to the general work done in our State institutions. . . [articulation instruction] should be adopted. It holds an important place in our school, as is evidenced by the fact that almost thirty percent of our deaf pupils are. . . taught exclusively by. . . expert teachers of articulation."[66]

The 1885-86 school year at FSDB opened with a meager enrollment of 11 students. For the initial two school years, that is where the enrollment stayed. It was years later that more parents of blind and deaf children enrolled their children as students in larger numbers. As mentioned earlier, enrollment more than doubled to 23 students by the 1887-88 academic year. In the first two years of operation, it appeared that FSDB enrolled no black students. However, it is unclear if the State of Florida or FSDB intentionally barred black students from the institution or if parents simply chose not to enroll their children. By the 1888-89 school year, FSDB enrolled 12 black students and 13 white students. The school initially opened with the Radical Reconstruction Constitution in force in Florida. However, in 1885, a new constitution was adopted that specifically forbade instructing black and white students together in the same school.[67] One explanation may be that there were issues to resolve with the 1885 Constitution and the instruction of black and white together on the same campus. Another explanation was that black families were unable or unwilling to send even their disabled sons or daughters to school because their families needed or otherwise wanted them at home for those first two years of operation.

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[66] N. F. Walker was President of SCSDB from 1871 to 1927 quoted in 1891 in the Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the South Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Blind, 1897 by Brasington, 2000, p. 13.

[67] While the 1885 Constitution may have forbidden instructing blacks and white together, it appears that not until 1895 with the implementation of the Sheats Laws that any sort of legal action had been taken to enforce this practice. (also see American Missionary)

One source of this unwillingness was simply a lack of trust; there were many reports of parents in Florida not trusting the institution to educate their unfortunate, disabled sons and daughters.[68] With the creation of associations to fight these ideas, FSDB eventually overcame this distrust with external help. Superintendent Russell furthered the idea that FSDB students returning to their homes in the summer were able to demonstrate their progress in speech and facial expression to family and friends back home; this demonstration being "far more potent than mere words from the lips of teacher or school officer."[69]

Integrating black and white students in southern schools was a highly contentious subject. In one such event, the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind experienced great turmoil when Radical Republican State Superintendent of Education J. K. Jillson ordered on September 17 1873 that "whites and blacks should sleep in the same beds, eat at the same table and be taught in the same classes."[70] In response, the School Superintendent, N. F. Walker, as well as all teachers and staff resigned. The school was forced to close because the State Superintendent could not find replacement staff and faculty. Eventually, the school reopened nearly three years later, in 1876, with separate black and white departments. Although the two races were effectively taught in the same school, the reality of this was far from the dicta of Jillson.

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[68] Albert J. Russell, Life and Labors of Albert J. Russell: A Collection of Writings Showing Some of His Efforts in Behalf of His Fellow Men (Jacksonville, F.L.: The DaCosta Printing Co.), p. 50.

[69] Biennial Report, 1887, p. 14.

[70] Brasington, 2000, pp. 9-10.

Chapter Commentary

FSDB owes its creation to the culmination of the efforts of Thomas Hines Coleman, Governor Bloxham, and the original census data that showed a need for the provision of such a school in Florida. Although Florida created the school late in the history of deaf and blind schools, FSDB had the advantage of the knowledge of advocates who had decades of experience to help guide the school's creation. The school appeared to have only two duties in its earliest years: open the facilities and attract students. Early articles about the school were little more than physical descriptions of the facilities accompanied by justifications for the education of deaf and blind children. In the first few years, FSDB enjoyed a grand welcome to the state as the educational crown jewel. The next few years would reveal declining exuberance for the mission of deaf and blind education as pressing issues faced Florida under new gubernatorial administration.

CHAPTER 3

COMPETITION FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE STATE: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FSDB FROM 1887 TO 1895

In the opening years of FSDB, the institution struggled to maintain an adequate student body. Being a newly created school, not many citizens outside the North Florida area even *knew* about the institution despite repeated articles printed in Florida newspapers. The Florida Times Union of Jacksonville, one of Florida's more popular newspapers, was the most often used venue for such articles and letters.[1] Even for those who were aware of the school, many were uncertain of the ability of faculty and staff to do something meaningful with their children as pupils in the new facility. Clearly, the public had been unsure, if not skeptical, of its educational mission as the school fought to avoid the label of asylum and earn the title of educational facility, institute, or school. For years, it was debated whether or not the deaf and blind could be educated and trained to be productive members of society. The debate had finally been put to the test in Florida.

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[1] Arthur O. White, "Booker T. Washington's Florida Incident, 1903-1904." Florida Historical Quarterly 51 (1973): 227-250. The Florida Times Union was a popular arena for debating many hotly contested issues during the late 18th and into the early 20th centuries, among them issues of disability, suffrage, and race. See also John T. Foster and Sarah W. Foster, Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999).

Under the administration of governor Bloxham, a concerned stakeholder in FSDB intimately connected to the school's creation, Florida enacted this social experiment to find answers to questions of the ability to and usefulness of educating deaf and blind students and the viability of such a school in Florida. The experiences of other states helped to provide something of a road map toward success in the endeavor in educating blind and deaf individuals. The past successes at other institutions indicated that FSDB would likely thrive as past failures indicated the path would be fraught with bumps along the way.

Even in the earliest years, FSDB demonstrated some measure of success and viability. Specifically, the school showed a consistent and continued ability to attract new faculty and staff despite constant turnover, successes in attracting a growing student body despite the nearly insurmountable challenges to such efforts, an ability to adapt to changes in the social and educational climate, and steady support from the Florida legislature even during economic downturns.

Because of his confidence in the school, Bloxham ensured that the legislature allocated adequate financial backing for FSDB as well as suitable attention during its first few years of existence. Despite the exigencies and changes under subsequent gubernatorial administrations, FSDB grew and developed albeit slowly. Here continues the story over the span of time from 1887 to 1895.

External Forces Influencing Institutional Creation and Operation of FSDB

Many forces were working directly and indirectly to affect the operation of FSDB. Among these are administrative and legislative operation, and the changing landscape of special education. The leadership of FSDB vigorously defended the

mission, sought aid when possible, and continued to market the school as a boon to the State and the students it served.[2]

Administrative and Legislative Operation

There was a significant amount of attention drawn to FSDB from its inception, during the opening of the school and into its very early infancy of operation, and for the moment, there had been noticeable momentum behind the deaf and blind education movement in Florida. The support for the cause of educating the deaf and blind, however, would quickly face new challenges. Nationally, the legislation to control the immigration of individuals who could not take care of themselves had shown a trend of strengthening.

In 1882, "the first major federal immigration law. . . prohibited entry to any 'lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge.'"[3] Baynton reported that in 1891, the wording of 'unable to take care. . .' was replaced with 'likely to be come a public charge.'[4] The efforts of the "eugenics movement and popular fears about the decline of the national stock" had a significant impact on this national trend.[5] Even if FSDB did not feel any direct result of this movement, the fear must have been that such

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[2] FSDB heads often visited other southern schools to elicit support, find out how other schools maintained their facilities, find leads on finding new faculty or staff, or otherwise trade ideas about surviving as an educational facility. Two sources indicated this pattern: The Herald, *various years* and Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *various years*.

[3] Douglas C. Baynton, "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History." in Longmore, Paul K. and Umansky, Lauri, Eds. The New Disability History: American Perspectives (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 45.

[4] Ibid., p. 45. The trend continued with a 1907 strengthening of immigration law by allowing to bar individuals 'of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living.' p. 45.

[5] Ibid., p. 45.

ideas could have put the school in jeopardy and there can be no doubt that such events forced administrators to fight more vigorously to persuade Floridians to support such measures.

In the gubernatorial administrations immediately following Bloxham, there was scant mention of FSDB. Some mention of FSDB appeared in available state records up until 1887; however, during the last half of Perry's administration, 1887-89, FSDB all but disappeared in these records.[6] Administrators of the school had to devote more time and energy into advancing FSDB with less direct support and guidance from the government as new concerns throughout the state required more attention and resources, putting education in the background. Perhaps these new issues facing the State put the fear into FSDB leadership that its appropriation could be reduced or even worse, cut, especially as the attention FSDB once enjoyed began to wane.

Major problems plagued Florida and spread State resources thin during the latter years of Fleming's administration. Primarily, public health concerns and significant financial shortfalls dominated the attention of this administration. Yellow Fever had become a recognizable threat to the health of the people of Florida that demanded immediate attention. In response, Fleming created the State Board of Health to document and combat the spread of the disease.

An article, "In Memoriam: Francis Phillip Fleming" appeared in the Florida Historical Quarterly, in which it is documented how the Fleming administration lamented about, if not out rightly ridiculed, previous gubernatorial efforts in Florida relating to the care of special populations:

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[6] Perry was governor of Florida from 1885 to 1889. FSDB enjoyed a great deal of attention in its opening year of 1885 with the official opening of the school through its first few year of operation. Records indicate a great deal of interest continued into the second year of operation but 1887 saw new challenges to the State and coverage waned.

> Republican misrule during the Reconstruction period [that] had so depleted the public treasury. . . the enormously increased expense of providing for the indigent insane, the rapidly increasing cost of the system of public instruction, the pensions of needy and deserving Confederate soldiers, the expenses of the extra and regular sessions of the legislature.[7]

Florida under Governor Perry became more involved with addressing issues dealing with the assessment of property taxes, shifting criminal prosecution cost to localities, dealing with the pensions laws, setting up a state prison system while continuing the fight against pressing state health issues and financial pressures. Education seemed to only factor in as an additional financial liability, much like the existence of Yellow Fever and the other problems facing the State. Authors such as Cochran and Rerick demonstrated this orientation in their retrospective examinations of Florida's education system. Each wrote about educational matters with a greater financial lens than previously seen in earlier eras.

Both Cochran and Rerick performed their analyses after 1900, focusing on educational matters in the preceding decades.[8] Each showed an increased orientation in reports toward hard data and statistics and away from the personal, if not parochial, stories. Cochran reported data evidenced by State Superintendent Russell as indicators of "educational growth and advancement

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[7] Florida Historical Society, "In Memoriam: Francis Philip Fleming." Florida Historical Quarterly 2 (April 1909): 6-7.

[8] Thomas Everette Cochran, History of Public-School Education in Florida, (Lancaster, P.A.: The New Era Printing Company, 1921), p. 106; Rowland H. Rerick, Ed., Memoirs of Florida (Atlanta, G.A.: Southern Historical Association, Vol. 1-2, 1902). Each devoted significant attention to the decades before 1900. Their data often had holes because authors and school administrators of the late 19th century often had less interest in providing such information. Financial data was a more important phenomenon into the 20th century.

during the period of 1884 to 1892 inclusively."[9] These indicators generally involved calculation of per capita expenditures or reports of taxation.[10]

Rerick showed a similar stance in the financial attitude toward education. His focus appeared to be reporting annual appropriations, average daily attendance, and other matters that indicated financial efficiency and worked as tools in making meaningful comparisons among educational institutions.[11] Both authors wrote about the conditions in education when efficiency was king in the public arena of the early 20th century.[12] Perhaps their focus was more self imposed and less a relic of the reports of the Superintendents between 1887 and 1895. Perhaps Rerick and Cochran may have only been reinforcing a pre-existing focus seen in the original reports of the day. Previously cited Superintendent reports tend to present more and more hard numerical data that can be used to weigh efficiency while there is a movement away from the reporting of particularistic or anecdotal evidence. It is unclear which had a greater influence in the authors looking back into the period between 1887 and 1895 with a slight air of presentism or the actual focus of inquiry of the time such reports were created.

Partly due to the values of the administration and partly due to attention to other matters of the State, under Fleming's administration, 1889-93, FSDB was merely mentioned as an institution receiving money from an appropriation of $40,000 to pay for various state-controlled institutions including the oversight of normal schools, and teachers' institutes, as well as

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[9] Cochran, 1921, p. 106.

[10] Ibid., p. 89, Table VIII; Ibid., p. 91, Table IX. These tables serve as respective examples of such evidence presented in the documents of the Superintendent.

[11] Rerick, 1902.

[12] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

the "deaf, dumb, and blind asylum."[13] The administration decried the newly added responsibilities from previous administrations in part because the new governor did not wholeheartedly support such programs and in part because of serious downturns in the revenue from taxation.

Despite the negative financial constraints facing Florida, financial support for FSDB increased, as its initial appropriation had doubled in less than a decade. Perhaps this is a new expectation of citizens for the State to provide access to a greater range of educational opportunities. Compulsory education laws perhaps had an impact on the expectations of citizens in other states to have education universally available. While Florida still had no such laws, they would appear in 1915. While the administration appeared more interested in relinquishing responsibilities in most other areas, the support incongruously continued in most areas of state-supported education efforts.

Education, in general, seemed to be moving deeper into the public expectation and becoming entrenched as an entitlement, but FSDB continued to face a hurdle in its social acceptance. From the beginning of FSDB, there had been concern over the instruction of the races. Because of the historical conflicts seen in other institution and contemporary pressures, FSDB always made it clear in its literature and in the media releases that they would at all times maintain separation between the races even though they were technically still students of the same school.

In 1887, Floridians witnessed Georgia's attempt to deal with the issue of race and education. In this year, the Georgia House sought to pass the Glenn Bill, which if enacted would have made it illegal for any school, public or private, to admit both

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1962).

[13] Rerick, 1902, p. 369. The appropriation for FSDB was $10,000 of the $40,000 for such facilities statewide.

white and black students. Due to a large public uproar, mainly outside the borders of Georgia, the bill eventually failed to pass the legislature.[14] Public debate of the issue never disappeared for Georgia or other southern states and the issue would linger.

Several years later, Florida saw its own law, similar to the failed Georgia bill, effectively promulgated. Despite voluminous public outcries, similar to those experienced in Georgia, Florida instituted a strengthened de jure separation of black and white students just at the end of the 1894-95 school year.[15] At the urging of Superintendent of Public Instruction, William H. Sheats, the Florida Legislature passed a law that forbade blacks and whites to be instructed within the same building and white faculty or staff members from living in the same building as their black students.

A number of missionary school leaders became vocal opponents of the new law, as they believed legislators directed its provisions at their missionary and educational efforts. Northern newspapers, particularly those in Boston, felt a strong compulsion to attack the new law. The Boston Standard printed:

> It was understood that this law was particularly aimed at the Orange Park School of the American Missionary Association… This villainous statute was enforced in the case of the Orange Park School on the entire body of teachers, white men and women of spotless character and self-sacrificing devotion to the mission, because of

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[14] The American Missionary, 1895, p. 346. The American Missionary reported that the legislature was happy to simply to threaten to withhold $8000 from Atlanta University unless it closed its doors "to one of the two races the receiving the advantages of its instruction." The American Missionary, 1895, p. 346.

[15] This furthered the 1885 Constitutional Article XII, Section 12 statement that called for impartial provision of education for Black and whites but nonetheless separate schools.

> educating teachers for the elevation of American citizenship. The normal school is one of the best and most useful of the educational agencies at work in the South, but had dared to ignore the outrageous statute that makes it a crime for any school. . . to teach blacks and white scholars on the same building or have any white teachers to eat and sleep in the same house with their Negro pupils. If these discretionary rights are not guaranteed by our national Constitution to American citizens, then the professed abolition of slavery and of the color line in citizenship is a wretched farce. Nobody can question the intent of the proclamation of emancipation. . . that places the Negro on the same legal plane with any white citizen of this country. We do not doubt the supreme and binding authority of this legislature. We mistake the temper of the American people of a blaze of indignation is kindled by this outrage from the Atlantic to the Pacific[16].

Once the emerging crown jewel of the educational system, FSDB descended into the background as issues of finance, public health, and race garnered more interest in the public eye. FSDB remained while the issues continued to evolve and receive more attention. The existence of FSDB fell from the limelight it once enjoyed. Similarly, special education lost much of its appeal in educational and political circle as well as support from groups and civic-minded individuals.

The Changing Landscape of Special Education

Deaf education nationwide suffered a great loss in 1889 with the death of Fredrick Augustus Porter Barnard. Barnard had

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[16] Boston Standard quoted in The American Missionary, 1896, p. 180-181. A number of other statements from private citizens and other journalists are quoted in this issue of The American Missionary about the Orange Park Normal and Industrial School in Florida, a school that had in operation for nearly 50 years. The association had brought legal action as church conferences denounced Sheats' actions.

been a student of many subjects and had written extensively on educating deaf students. He documented how deaf individuals entering a new setting could quickly adapt their manual communication skills to the new methods and set of signs.[17] He was a strong advocate for manual communication and its use in a mixed method of instruction most famously presented in his 1835 Treatise.[18] Barnard argued for the reduction of natural signs into conventional signs that could essentially become a widely useable and recognizable mode of communication. Lang and Stokoe pointed out that this effort directed at the organization of a widely recognizable language was largely ignored by Barnard's contemporaries but was later attempts were made by educators of deaf students to revive such guidance, though unsuccessfully against the oralist takeover.[19]

FSDB had been founded on the idea of a combined instruction method that would have incorporated some of the ideas of natural communication as advocated by Thomas Hines Coleman. However, the vociferous and powerful advocates of oral instruction were quickly gaining ground; combined instruction was slowly fading. The power of advocates such as Alexander Graham Bell was often stronger than the traditions that emanated from the American School founded by Gallaudet and Clerc in Hartford, Connecticut. Buchanan describes the traditional but ailing power of the American School:

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[17] Harry G. Lang and William Stokoe, "A Treatise on Sign and Spoken Language in Early 19th Century Deaf Education in America." Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education 5 (Spring 2000): 198.

[18] F. A. P. Barnard, "Existing State of the Art of Instructing the Deaf and Dumb." Literary and Theological Review 2 (1835): 367-98. quoted in Lang and Stokoe, 2000.

[19] Lang and Stokoe, 2000, p. 198.

> By virtue of its pathbreaking position and Gallaudet's and Clerc's expertise, the school served for decades as an unofficial training center for deaf and hearing teachers and for administration. . . as personnel from other states typically adopted the methods and practices developed at Hartford the school became an informal center for learning and promoting sign language, the favored method of communication in class instruction and daily interaction.[20]

Deaf educators often ignored deaf individuals in deciding issues related to their education. In issues of employment, the deaf were treated in the same manner, often having their concerns ignored. Into the 1890s, access to the workplace became a major issue for the deaf for the first time on par with matters of education. A fight for access to civil service positions had been brewing since the 1880s but few deaf individuals were suitably educated or trained to work in high skill areas. In fact, most deaf individuals were still fighting the idea of the "sloth of some itinerant deaf" who would travel about begging to make ends meet.[21] As deaf education worked close toward being universal, deaf people were better equipped for higher skill employment but often still ostracized from mainstream employment opportunities. After a scandal related to the exclusion of deaf applicants from the railway jobs, an investigation was led by Edward A. Fay, editor of The American Annals of the Deaf and Vice President of Gallaudet College, working in tandem with the Empire State Association of the Deaf from New York. In the end, deaf individuals were legally excluded from civil service positions but the issue would re-emerge in later years.[22]

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[20] Buchanan, 1999, p. 4.

[21] Ibid., p. 10.

[22] Ibid., p. 15.

Institutional Administrative and Academic Structure

Cochran credited the work of the Florida Association for the Promotion of Education of the Deaf and Blind (FAPEDB) as great facilitator of the movement of students into the halls of FSDB.[23] This group was most likely a group of educators, administrators, and civic-minded Floridians under the supervision of Superintendent Russell. No clear information about FAPEDB existed although Cochran reported the high praise from Superintendents Russell and Sheats. From the earliest years, attendance had increased "greatly."[24] In addition, parents were "profuse in their praise. . . and profound in their thanksgiving."[25] Superintendent Sheats handed a great deal of responsibility to former Superintendent Russell who "deserve[d] credit for the benevolent manner and fatherly interest he took in looking after the welfare of these poor unfortunates."[26] Clearly, a number of active participants in the early development of FSDB exercised care over the welfare of the school. While no one person could take credit for the success of FSDB, many groups were intimately involved directly and indirectly. Groups such as FAPEDB had a hand as well as the state administration including the Superintendents and Boards of Education all added their support but few had as much a direct impact as the faculty and staff of FSDB itself.

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[23] Cochran, 1921, p. 106. The Florida Association for the Promotion of the Education of the Deaf and Blind (FAPEDB) was organized in March 1889 and was credited as a prime motivator in the state to see to it that "rears of the parents were removed, their prejudices allayed and they were brought to an appreciation of the institution's work."

[24] Ibid., p. 106. Initial enrollment was 11 in 1885. By 1892, it had grown to 62- nearly six-fold in less than seven years.

[25] Ibid., p. 106.

[26] Superintendent Sheats quoted in Cochran, 1921, p. 106. Originally written in the Superintendent's Report.

Starting with only three faculty and staff in 1885: Professor Terrell as principal, Mrs. M.D. Taylor as matron and Thomas Hines Coleman as teacher (and credited founder of the school.)[27] Terrell continued as the head of FSDB until 1890. Under his five-year administration, there had been consistent turnover among the faculty. Although in absolute terms it was small, even one teacher leaving a faculty of less than half dozen could be dramatic especially in such a specialized field. By the 1887-88 school year, FSDB had three additional faculty members: an additional teacher, an assistant matron, and an attendant for boys.[28]

Under the tenure of William Caldwell as Principal from 1890 to 1893, the turnover continued. Resignations and promotions were annual occurrences met with a businesslike attitude in the biennial reports. Some instructors at FSDB came with no experience. Caldwell wrote "Miss Oakley Bockie, a lady who has had no previous experience in teaching the deaf, but who filled the position of assistant matron last year, and made good use of the opportunity thus afforded of acquainting herself with the work of manual instruction" taught sign language to the black students as part of her charge.[29] It is unclear if similar rushed training was ever instituted for teachers of the white children.

Through 1892, the faculty had remained at six, Caldwell reported, due to a small appropriation. However, by the end of 1892, the staff had increased to nine. The responsibilities jumped significantly for the staff. While their faculty and staff numbers tripled from the start of the school, the student enrollment had increased six fold.

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[27] Cochran, 1921, p. 105.

[28] Biennial Report, 1888, p. 11. The last report filed by Terrell in his role as FSDB superintendent.

[29] Biennial Report, 1891, p. 19.

As the school grew, there was also significant diversification in the student body regarding age, race, gender, and ability; with greater diversity came more issues. At FSDB, when there was no teacher available to teach a blind black student, the administration decided to place this student with the deaf black students. Placing such a student with the white students could have jeopardized the social acceptance of the school, as history would dictate.

For example, earlier in the history of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind, the faculty resigned because Southern mores were not observed in maintaining separation in the education of the black and white students. Specifically, the faculty were furious over the 1873 mandate of the South Carolina State Superintendent of Education to educate blacks and whites side-by-side in the state school for the deaf and blind.[30] South Carolina stood as a prime example of the ways in which school administrations could sometimes overstep socially acceptable practices and put the school in jeopardy. The years 1887 to 1895 recollected some of these issues as Florida and Georgia wrestled with the issue of multi-racial education. With the revival of race, it indicates two very important developments in Southern education. First, blacks were achieving greater access to educational opportunities and second, the issue of whether deaf and blind students were capable of scholastic achievement had been answered affirmatively.

Although in 1891, Florida was undergoing a transition away from common schooling to a graded system, FSDB maintained a common school approach. The school simply did not have the numbers to warrant such a transition. FSDB was waging a final battle to dispel the image of asylum and find acceptance for its

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[30] Brasington, 2000. This situation, previously discussed in Chapter 2, closed SCSDB for three years. Such an outcome for FSDB probably would have closed the school permanently so early in the history of the school's development.

mission. In one of the strongest appeals in print, William Caldwell, then-Principal of FSDB, wrote in his 1891 report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction:

> A parent who would cut off his child's arm. . . would be regarded with horror by the public; yet this neglect of having a deaf or blind child educated, is an even greater cruelty to him . . . It must be admitted there is a kind of aversion to schools of this kind, and it is directly traceable to the unfortunate name of 'asylum', which was adopted by the first institutions for the deaf established in America. . . it is hard indeed to make some understand that our work is simply and purely educational.[31]

This quote was both a plea for further funding and a personal attack on parents whom had promised to send their child in the 1890-91 school year but kept their child at home. Caldwell goes on to explain that a small faculty was the result of a small appropriation and that at least one faculty member had to pull multiple duty to ensure adequate instruction for blind students. There is also some turnover in the faculty and it is discussed as a simple matter of usual circumstance. Despite the lack of funding, FSDB still managed to increase the presence of vocational instruction by adding typesetting and printing for the boys while continuing carpentry, photography, and "art preservation."[32]

In 1892, Caldwell reported that FSDB had a new charge. The principal had received letters from around Florida that FSDB had "a most unsavory reputation throughout the State for *cruelty* and

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[31] Report from William Caldwell, Principal of FSDB quoted in Annual Report, 1891, p. 18.

[32] Annual Report, 1891, p. 19.

mismanagement."[33] Caldwell then realized why enrollment had appeared to be stagnant during his tenure. Perhaps the personal attacks printed in the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction a year earlier only solidified their fears. Caldwell made many attempts to quell such fears, consulting the leaders of other deaf and blind schools in the summer of 1892. Whether it was out of financial frustration, disgust with the newly realized reputation of the school or better career opportunities, Caldwell resigned at the end of the 1892-93 school year, turning FSDB over to Henry N. Felkel, who would serve as Principal through 1897.

The brief dark spot in the history of FSDB, under Caldwell, quickly brightened under Felkel. In the summer of 1895, FSDB added indoor water closets and improved drainage on its campus; "sanitation of the institution [was] now as nearly perfect as is possible."[34] In 1895, the legislature appropriated FSDB an additional $2000 to construct a new building. This building would be a 33-foot by 66-foot accommodations for the black students. The building would effectively double the capacity of students from 60 to 120.

Felkel looked to other institutions such as the Perkins Institute and the New York School for the Blind, which had dismantled most of its industrial education programs and replaced them with greater focus on music instruction for the blind. It was also during the first years of Felkel's tenure that FSDB purchased a new piano to aid the school's new direction in instruction. Directing some attention to the Board of Managers, Felkel wrote "there are certain manual industries. . . that may be performed by the blind as perfectly and almost as deftly as by the seeing, but it has been found in other states that in

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[33] Report from William Caldwell, Principal of FSDB quoted in Annual Report, 1892, p. 22.

[34] Report from Henry N. Felkel, Principal of FSDB quoted in Biennial Report, 1896, p. 140.

competition with machinery these do not furnish means of a livelihood."[35] Essentially, educators quickly realized that the old, common programs in broom making, cabinetry, etc. were becoming less useful in the face of industrial growth and new machinery to perform laborious tasks. Music performance was believed to be a way to provide blind individuals with greater employment opportunities. In the coming years, advocates such as Helen Keller would become increasingly vocal in calls for enhancing the economic viability of those with disabilities. The next chapter discusses this idea and the efforts of a new breed of advocates.

Institutional Student Life and Instruction

During the period of 1887-95, FSDB still had not graduated any students. Many students came to FSDB for a short period before finding employment or returning home to family duties. This pattern of enrolling and then losing students before graduation was actually typical of school during this time period. In the late 19th century, many children faced the family expectation of going to work by 14 or 15 years of age, often ending their hopes for a more complete education.[36] Despite the student retention issues, FSDB continued its efforts to win the trust of parents of deaf and blind children in Florida as the school enjoyed an "increase in attendance and substantial work being done."[37] Superintendent Russell asked every county superintendent to obtain the name of every blind and deaf youth in their respective jurisdiction so that FSDB could contact

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[35] Ibid., p. 143.

[36] John L. Rury, Education and Social Change: Themes in the History of American Schooling (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2002), p. 85

[37] Russell, 1897, p. 50-51.

families of potential pupils. In this way, "Principal Professor Caldwell has been enabled to reach many whose homes he did not know hitherto and many have been brought in and are enjoying this great benefaction."[38] What began with bylines and short announcements in the newspapers had become somewhat larger in the efforts to reach students.[39]

As a comparison, around the same time in 1888, 133 blind students were being educated in England under the London School Board using 23 different centers and access to regular classrooms with sighted children.[40] FSDB represented the opposite end of the spectrum compared to London's dispersed system. FSDB maintained a residential facility with no access to other 'non-special needs' children. In fact, FSDB was still practicing a separation of the students by race, age, sex, and ability as London was practicing the first steps toward inclusion. Some states handled this problem by simply having separate schools altogether. Virginia, for example, maintained a school for black deaf children in the Hampton near the coast while a school for the white deaf operated in Staunton in the western side of the state. Inclusion efforts would span decades in the American system. Greater variability among its institutions for special education

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[38] Russell, 1897, p. 51. Referring to the collection of names and contact information to bring in potential students. This is the first mention of direct marketing of the school.

[39] Russell issued periodic announcements related public schools in the newspapers especially the Jacksonville Florida Times Union between 1883 and 1885. In 1883 and 1884, FSDB was mentioned in stand alone articles while in 1885 mention of FSDB usually appeared as just one aspect of the public schools system. The articles also demonstrated an evolution from public charity (Florida Times Union, 13 April 1884) to institute (Florida Times Union, 8 May 1884) to just another part of the public school system (Florida Times Union, 1 February 1885).

[40] Russell, 1897. In this piece, Russell discussed the realities of English blind education and they are mentioned only to demonstrate the range of education available to the blind at contemporary schools in the late 19th century. This is one of the first examples of inclusion.

may be the cause of this delay as well as more vigorous debate over best practices.[41]

During this period, deaf education focused more attention upon integrating pupils into society through oral and vocational education. However, it appeared the premier focus was upon getting work status for white males with less concern for women or minorities. The assumption was that few women would need to support themselves through wage earning after marriage; "vocational education for women was periphery."[42] While the boys studied cabinet making and printing, women studied home economics and art. FSDB sold itself for the deaf and blind as means to break the bonds of dependence; the means to that end differed for boys and girls.

Also during this period, American culture accepted that women would live under family or husband dependence. There were educators that recognized a division on the treatment of male and female students and sought to re-examine this custom. In 1893, Francis D. Clarke, Superintendent of the School for the Deaf in Michigan argued that "there is not a school for the deaf that is doing what it should to train girls."[43] Satisfaction, however, remained high for cooking, cleaning, and sewing as the extent of vocational training for female students. Schools saw a necessity in providing more opportunities that were meaningful to boys who would ultimate need to support themselves and possibly a family.

Despite the previous lack of gender equity in education, opportunities expanded for women during this period. In 1887, Gallaudet College began admitting women. As an elite deaf institute, it was only a matter of time before deaf female educators would wield some influence. Blacks, however, would not enter the school as teachers or students until after World War II

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[41] Winzer, 1993, p. 371.

[42] Buchanan, 1999, p. 6.

[43] Ibid., p. 7.

– some 80 years after the school's founding. This era was a seedling that would eventually yield some movement in the social equity for minorities and women decades later and only after some tremendous upheavals. New opportunities emerged for women, particularly as teachers of the deaf but freedom of instruction suffered as many came only because of the new wave of oralists.

Rigid social structures concerning gender issues seemed to be suspect by a small but powerful core of social reformers. Similarly, the vocal and powerful oralist machine out gunned opponents of oral instruction holding the high ground by arguing that oralism best served the goals of incorporating deaf individuals into mainstream society.[44] Oral instructors seemed to be promoted faster and new hires were often hearing instructors with training in articulation and lip-reading.[45] In the meantime, they wrote anonymous letters to newspapers or spoke against oralism at educational conferences.[46]

By the 1895 school year, even FSDB no longer permitted the use of sign communication except during Sunday school. However, they permitted and encouraged the manual alphabet or finger-spelling. As in the curriculum of many other schools for the deaf, oralism dominated:

> whenever it does not involve too great a consumption of time but the progress of the pupil in thought and the acquisition of knowledge is never lost sight of while we fully appreciate the value of speech for the deaf, at the same time we are satisfied that the ability to speak does

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[44] Baynton, 1996; Winzer, 1993; Susan Burch, "Reading Between the Signs." in Longmore, Paul K. and Umansky, Lauri, Eds. The New Disability History: American Perspectives (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 220.

[45] Baynton, 1996, p. 96.; Burch, 2001, p. 220. The authors also provide a brief discussion of the feminization of the oral instruction forcing out male manual instructors and deaf educators.

[46] Buchanan, 1999, pp. 24-30.

not necessarily imply an education in the true sense of the word.[47]

Most proponents of oralism argued that its approach was the most useful way to incorporate deaf individuals into society. FSDB itself was founded on the principle of breaking relationships of dependency and incorporating individuals into the larger society. Most oralists subscribed to the ideas of leading oralists, such as Alexander Graham Bell, that deafness is "an affliction to be overcome in order to fully participate in hearing society."[48] It is in this manner that oralism seemed to corral deaf education into articulation and vocational endeavors without much consideration of more academic studies. Framed in this way, the argument for oralism was self-defeating because it helped to strengthen the affinity for the signing deaf to join and solidify a Deaf culture.[49]

Despite the greater use of oralist curriculum in deaf education across the nation, FSDB still maintained a combined method. The Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction said that even if deaf individuals can manage to overcome their deafness and speak like hearing people, this "does not necessarily imply an education in the true sense of the word."[50] FSDB chose to not throw away the manual methods but used them to complement the "progress of. . . thought and the acquisition of knowledge" whenever useful.[51]

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[47] Biennial Report, 1896, p. 140.

[48] Buchanan, 1999, pp. 29-30

[49] The denotation of 'Deaf culture' refers to the then-forming cohesive culture of signing individuals who chose not to be identified as having a debilitating condition (deaf –lowercase d) but an alternate human condition (Deaf – uppercase D).

[50] Biennial Report, 1896, p. 140.

[51] Ibid., p. 140.

FSBD Staff and Students

By 1890, the total number of staff and students at FSDB was around 50. The numbers indicated significant growth in the student body from the original 11 students but the school was just beginning to develop in the early to mid 1890s regarding school governance, curriculum, etc. In the opening of the 1894-95 school year, FSDB had 51 pupils. Among these were 42 deaf students, of which 31 were white, and 11 were black. FSDB also housed nine blind students, all of whom were white. At this time, there were six teachers listed. They included: teacher of articulation, manual teacher of the white deaf, teacher of white blind, manual teacher of colored deaf, teacher of printing, and teacher of carpentry and gardening. Among the teachers, four were women and two men were the vocational course teachers. The following school year 1895-1896 had the same basic teacher positions. However, the student body increased to 53 students. There were still 42 deaf students of which 33 were white and ten blacks. There were ten blind white students and one black blind student. Interestingly, the single blind black student was instructed by the colored teacher of the deaf.[52] Overall, enrollment had leveled off but the staff arrangements evolved immensely.

Based on the 1896 Florida State Census information by Russell of 105 deaf children of school age, 61 were white and 44 were black. FSDB had done a fairly good job of attracting more than half of all eligible children to take advantage of its educational facilities. FSDB has less success attracting eligible black students as only one-quarter of their black eligible children attended the school. The numbers reflected a less equitable participation by blind students. While the same

[52] Russell, 1897, pp. 139-140. It is not clear if this was a black teacher whose sole responsibility was the one pupil. The report is not specific in this area.

census material showed 41 blind children of school age, 17 of whom were white and 24 were black, roughly just over half of the white students came to FSDB while only one blind black student attended FSDB.[53] As a comparison, just before the opening of FSDB, the Proceedings of the Florida Legislature indicated that Florida was home to 119 deaf-mutes, (58 white and 61 black) of whom 78 were school age (32 white and 46 black). Black children appeared to be severely underserved by public education resources compared to white children.

Although the number of children that could possibly attend FSDB had grown in small absolute numbers, FSDB demonstrated a general rise in its capture of potential students as a portion of such students statewide.[54] The census actually showed a decrease in the number of potential students throughout Florida. The 1892 census showed 130 deaf and 42 blind "defective youth" (as they were called) in the Superintendent's reports. Despite the decline in potential students from 1892 to 1896, FSDB still attracted a higher number of students - at least among the white populations. Black blind students were still not attending anything close to the same proportion as their white counterparts. Perhaps the expectation to attract black blind students without actually having a teacher to instruct such students or being able to provide a tangible curriculum was unrealistic. Why would black parents choose to send their child to a school that did not provide a blind teacher devoted solely for black students?

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[53] Russell, 1897, pp. 139-140. It is not clear if this was a black teacher whose sole responsibility was the one pupil. The report is not specific in this area.

[54] Florida, State of. Senate Journal: A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Florida, 12th Session of the Legislature (Tallahassee, F.L: Charles E. Dyke Printer, 1883), p. 31. The report was part of discussion on the Senate Floor of a bill forwarding the education of deaf-mutes by a vote of 60-0. Originally read on January 11, 1883, then recommitted to committee on February 2, the bill was passed 60-0 on March 1 with the support of Mr. Trapp, a member of the Committee on Education of the Assembly. Ibid., pp. 105, 301.

In his 1887 report, Russell discussed some of the academic offerings at FSDB. Music, basket-making, gardening, printing, woodworking, lathe-working and housewifery were all part of the curriculum but with the new rise in oralism so was articulation and finger-spelling for the deaf.[55] Unfortunately, no reaction from the students was available. It is clear however, that these subjects were standard in the instruction of deaf. In the late 1800s, the Horace Mann School for the Deaf (HMSD) incorporated "manual training extensively to hone student's skills and prepare them for employment after their education. . . woodworking, type-setting and printery, cookery. . . formed part of the curriculum."[56]

While in the 1880s, the Annals of the Deaf began printing excerpts of student work and intimate events of schools; FSDB would not provide such glimpses into the instructions for several more years.[57] The expectation is that a better picture of student life may be drawn in later years, as more information is available in sources such as The Herald. Many schools did not keep well-documented data about their students.

Osgood reported that HMSD intended on keeping records regarding success and failure of individual students. Because the school wanted to appear successful, it appeared the best way to do so was to report at the institutional level and avoid having to report some of the failure of many students. FSDB records revealed a similar pattern with the exception of sporadic

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[55] Russell, 1897, pp. 50-51.

[56] Osgood, 2000, p. 109. Even though FSDB and HMSD of Boston, Massachusetts were separated by hundreds of miles, the schools provided similar instruction and like many other schools it was also embroiled in the oralism/manualism debate. They fell to the oralists as did nearly every residential school for the deaf. Later years would see some differences among the schools as different instructional tools were employed see Osgood, 2000, pp. 46-47, 107-109.

[57] The Herald, as a school newspaper printed by students of the school under the direction of a staff member, would eventually print stories about students, faculty and staff of the school and regularly

anecdotal reporting of students speaking to their parents or otherwise showing enhanced functional capabilities directly resulting from instruction at school.[58]

FSDB reported infrequent instances of individuals being removed for the reason of being educationally unsuitable but rarely mention instances of expulsion by name. FSDB and HMSD show similarity in their official reports: "official reports and other records of the school commented frequently on the school's successes, very little was mentioned or even implied regarding students who were unable to succeed either during or after their school experience."[59] It is unclear if this is due to a lack of failure or a want to portray the school only in a positive light because of tenuous social acceptance and a desire to retain access to available funding. It is clear, however, that FSDB took every advantage to demonstrate that the institution had an educational mission and was in no way an asylum. With each dismissal, The Herald, The Record and the Superintendent Reports generally ran a statement about the situation describing the necessity of the decision. These periodicals also ran the text of the poicy of FSDB to not accept pupils who were not suitable for the educational environment of the school.[60]

Chapter Commentary

While FSDB grew slowly between 1887 and 1895, administrators planned and began to craft a message to

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include excerpts of student work particularly poems and short stories.

[58] Referred to in footnote 62 in Chapter 2 – Russell, 1897, p. 50.

[59] Osgood, 2000, p. 111. Refers specifically to HMSD but the behavior of FSDB did not deviate much from this sort of behavior during its early years.

[60] FSDB refused students because of emotional disturbances, profound handicaps that would require intense attention and those otherwise incapable of learning or training.

Floridians. FSDB operated relatively unaffected by issued that faced Florida and managed to pass through this time with at least adequate resources. Similarly, the school was much less severely affected than other schools, if not mostly untouched, by the debates surrounding oral and manual instruction that spread throughout the nation. The only real challenge that faced FSDB was the competition for resources as the Florida faced many new public issues. The institutional life of FSDB had been relatively easy. In the next decade, FSDB would have a much bumpier road having to answer charges of mismanagement and abuse levied by the public and unsympathetic legislators, and doing so under the specter of Sheat's Law.

CHAPTER 4

AVERTING INSTITUTIONAL ASSAULTS AND FINDING HARMONY: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FSDB FROM 1895 TO 1905

Until this period in its development, FSDB dealt with few issues that had serious negative impacts on the operation of the institution. Only the short but hard-fought battle to dispel the reputation of breeding cruelty and institutional mismanagement stood as an example of a serious challenge to the operation of the school. It is unclear why these charges surfaced. There were no specific events demonstrating proof of the accusations. FSDB did not fire any faculty or staff members nor had any resigned because of allegations. As the assertions came to light, those who sought to see FSDB succeed buffered and protected the school from this issue of reputation and other issues that faced similar educational institutions. Because of this, FSDB primarily occupied itself with attracting a student body and creating a name for itself as an educational facility. With the campaign to win over the trust of parents and interested observers, the school met the dual agenda of dispelling the negative reputation and attracting new students.

From its origin, FSDB enjoyed a high degree of support from the state legislators, administrators, the educational system at-large, and interested citizens. However, around 1895 the situation changed. Harsh criticism surfaced about the ability of FSDB to manage its institutional growth, retain faculty and staff, and properly treat its pupils. This new criticism became an anathema to the once serene setting of the school. Following

here is the story of FSDB falling into the ranks of the educational system from which it had been set apart as the gem of the Florida educational system, a place that provided aid to the most unfortunate children of Florida. FSDB still pushed its original mission as a new opportunity for deaf and blind children to break the bonds of dependency, but the school had to labor under new pressures and demands that emerged.

External Forces Influencing Institutional Operation

New and old forces came together to change operation at FSDB. The old arguments between oralism and manualism were beginning to subside, new charges against FSDB surfaced alleging mismanagement and cruelty toward its students, and the inclusion movement emerged. Following is the story of these issues coming together and their effects on the school.

The New Issue of "Inclusion"

In 1899, there were "54 State public institutions for the deaf and only 18 for the Feeble minded and yet the number of feeble minded children in the United States is far in excess of the number of deaf."[1] Since the beginning of FSDB, there had been a small number of children inappropriately brought to the school and dismissed for not being proper subjects for the school's educational mission or otherwise being feeble minded. The trend seemed to be growing with four such students at FSDB in the 1899 school year and two in the 1898 school year.[2] With greater attention focused in the area of serving retarded and feeble-minded children, the deaf and blind school sought to avoid

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[1] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, The Institute Herald 8 (1899): 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 4.

such pupils that could possibly cloud their mission and overwhelm their faculty as well as facilities.

A gathering storm was to assault the deaf and blind schools: the effort to integrate special needs students with the other populations was just one aspect of it. In 1900, Frank Hall, superintendent of the Illinois School for the Blind and developer of the Braille typewriter demonstrated at an earlier meeting of the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, initiated one of the first efforts to integrate blind students into the local public schools.[3] This practice of putting special needs students in local public classrooms, later called integration, was just the beginning of a struggle within special education that would last into the 21st century. Much like the instructors of the deaf in the mid-19th century would argue manualism versus oralism, early 20th century blind educators would do so with separate education versus integrated education. The idea of integration, however, never gained full power until decades later. One obstacle was the new focus on retarded or feeble-minded children in the early 20th century. In many ways, the process was drawn out by an unwillingness of deaf and blind schools to serve such students and the need to create better understanding of educating retarded children. The process of learning to educate the deaf and blind spanned centuries and crossed continents. It was unrealistic to assume deaf and blind schools could, within a few years, incorporate training of retarded students within their facilities even if they had been willing to take on the task.

While blind students were experiencing integration into traditional classes, retarded and feeble-minded students were experiencing separation into their own classes if not separate schools. In this era, teachers often exalted the idea of the

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[3] Robert B. Irwin, As I Saw It: The War of the Dots (New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1955). Hall, who had worked as an administrator at a number of schools for the blind, was also the creator of a Braille typewriter that he debuted to the AAIB in 1892.

greatest good for the greatest number.[4] Providing extra help to one student or a small portion of the classroom, as might be necessary in integrated classrooms, seemed antithetical to such a motto. The creed of teachers during this time seemed more like a battle cry to put all the like-disabled students together and instruct them together because it was the most efficient and effective method to reach the largest number of children.[5]

Deaf students did not experience the same sort of attempts to shuffle students into traditional settings probably because of the impediment it may bring to the rest of the classroom in light of the murmurs drifting among deaf educators: "We must openly and candidly confess. . . that all we can do is imperfect work. . . what nature has lavishly bestowed upon the hearing person we cannot give to the deaf-mute. . . a power of speech which, in clearness, euphony an extent, approaches that of hearing persons."[6] The barriers to introduce deaf students into hearing classrooms appeared too daunting a challenge. Interestingly, neither blind nor deaf individuals had ever been consulted on this issue; decisions were made by instructors and administrators of deaf and blind schools.

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[4] Mary E. Griffin, "The Co-operation of Workers." American Annals of the Deaf 41 (1896): 70. Griffin submitted an article to the American Annals of the Deaf lauding the ideas of combined instruction for the deaf. As an articulation teacher in the Minnesota school this position could have put her career in jeopardy a few years earlier but it also demonstrated a new cease fire between the oralist and manualist camps as well as idea of tempering educational opportunities with a degree of efficiency by doing the most amount of good for the greatest number of students.

[5] In the age of efficiency, this was a component of prevailing ideas in the education efficiency movement. Authors writing about this movement considered in this work include: Callahan, 1962; Cremin, 1965; and Cubberley 1932 and 1947.

[6] Eduard Walther, Hand-buch def Taubstummenbildung (Manual of Deaf-Mute Instruction). Translated by Edwin Staube. (Berlin, 1895). Quoted in American Annals of the Deaf, 1896, p. 115.

The Old Feud Subsiding: Oralism versus Manualism

The old storm of Oralism versus Manualism passed over and combined instruction for the deaf emerged as the calm after the storm; the debate began to fizzle, as the speakers became more conservative and more radical but less able to garner attention. The more moderate approach of the combined method appeared to be gaining ground. By 1920, only two schools for the deaf were designated as strictly manual schools: the Virginia State School for the Colored Deaf and Blind Children and the Oklahoma Industrial Institution for the Deaf, Blind, and Orphans of the Colored Race; every other school at the time was either Combined or Oral.[7]

Despite the growing cooperation between oralists and manualists, some of the more outspoken and radical leaders among the oralists continued their barrage. Speeches were often little more than preaching to the choir so to speak; the debate over the preferred method was effectively dead and only radicals continued to try to harden views of those sympathetic to their cause. In 1899, John M. Tyler, then-president of Amherst College, spoke to an audience at the convention of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf, "the human race would continue its 'onward and upward' course only if certain 'bequests from our brute and human ancestors' were consciously eliminated."[8] Other oralists also made flimsy arguments that the inability to speak was "wholly due to the ignorance and carelessness of their hearing parents and friends."[9] The common denominator of oral arguments comes down to presenting deafness

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[7] Baynton, 1996, p. 46.

[8] John M. Tyler, "The Teacher and the State." Association Review 1 (October 1899): 19-21, 26. quoted in Baynton, 1996, 37. Tyler referred to the idea that signal based languages were first created before speech, therefore considered more primitive and ought to be removed to further human development.

[9] American Annals of the Deaf, 1899, p. 195.

as a hurdle to be part of the larger hearing world. Manualists and Combined followers often had a different perspective.

Counterarguments against the oral method can be referenced back to Condillac's 1746 Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge: manual communication was "not necessarily inferior to speech in what it could communicate."[10] Others called manual communication "the necessary forerunner of speech" and a "mark of honor" that may have been the original mode of language from which then-modern people degenerated "within the framework of their Protestant beliefs."[11] Garrick Mallery, a retired Colonel and anthropological enthusiast, argued against the notion, "sign languages were *inherently* inferior or primitive [noting] that they could potential express any idea that spoken language could [instead he argued] the sign languages were *historically* inferior" for the mere reason of lack of use in modern times.[12]

Being pragmatic about the education of deaf children, Officers and Directors of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, issued a message through the American Annals of the Deaf:

> Careful experiment in the older schools and frequent observation of results in the pure oral schools has led to a prevailing conclusion in the minds of teachers of the deaf in our country that a considerable proportion of the deaf as a class are not capable of success in speech. And a majority of our teachers are of the opinion that under

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[10] Etienn Bonnot Condillac, 1746, Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge. Condillac also referenced in Baynton, 1996, p. 39.

[11] Tyler, 1899, p. 20; Harvey Peet, "Notions of Deaf and Dumb before Instruction," American Annals of the Deaf 8 (October 1855): 10,15. Tyler, 1899, p. 20 and Peet are also referenced in Baynton, 1996, p. 40.

[12] Garrick Mallery, "Gesture Speech of Man," American Annals of the Deaf 27 (April 1882): 80. Mallery also quoted in Baynton, 1996, p. 42.

> many condition certain features of the manual method may be made use of to advantage.[13]

Although the idea was to incorporate the deaf better into larger society, many deaf students could not adequately adapt to the oral method of instruction. The practice did not always make significant improvement in the speech capabilities in deaf students. In abhorrent response to a visit to an oral school and witnessing the practice of teaching via the oral method, Heidsiek wrote:

> I had to witness all the wretchedness of the Pure Oral Method, and became painfully aware of the mischief that may be perpetrated by this method under the unfortunate combination of circumstances, which make its exclusive use appear simply pernicious. Whether the majority of the pupils of this school were originally feeble-minded, or whether an erroneous treatment had smothered all mental activity, I was, of course, unable to determine, but the fact remains that this school made the impression rather of an asylum.[14]

By 1898, several other methods appeared on the educational landscape. Oralism was no longer the dominant nor was straight manualism the dominant method. A combined method had garnered the spot as the dominant method of instruction.[15] However, the

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[13] American Annals of the Deaf, 1897, p. 277.

[14] American Annals of the Deaf, 1899, p. 194.

[15] Ibid., p. 60. A summary of the major methods appeared in the referenced work. Manual: used signs, manual alphabet, and writing as means of instruction with its objectives of mental development, and comprehension and use of written language. Oral: Speech, and speech-reading, are the chief methods of instruction aimed at mental and written language development. Some use of natural signs may be permitted but never a major mode of communication. The Combined Method: used elements of Manual and Oral generally based on the general

manual alphabet method and the auricular method appeared in some schools. Auricular method was only possible with students with some residual hearing. The American Annals of the Deaf explained this method:

> The hearing of semi-deaf pupils is developed and improved to the greatest possible extent and with or without the aid of artificial appliances, their education is carried out on chiefly though the use of speech and hearing, together with writing. The aim of the method is to graduate its pupils as hard-of-hearing speaking people instead of deaf-mutes.[16]

The Manual Alphabet Method utilized more traditional methods of instruction of the deaf relying upon, "means of the orthographic and phonetic manuals, and by writing and speech."[17] Eventually, the Combined Method came to the forefront and other methods fell into the vast minority except in the day schools for the deaf.[18]

In the end, the combined method that emerged seemed most concerned with providing pupils with the maximum understanding of the hearing and deaf worlds according to the capabilities of the student. Superintendent Westervelt, referring to combined instruction of his institution, the Rochester School for the Deaf, wrote "the child has a right to receive instruction though the form of our language which he can understand most readily,

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level of success of individual students. Speech and speech-reading were considered important but subordinate to mental development and acquisition of language. Manual alphabet and auricular methods are described as well.

[16] American Annals of the Deaf, 1898, p. 60.

[17] Ibid., p. 60.

[18] Of the 22 days schools, 14 still retained oral instruction. These schools were much smaller and had fewer pupils. In 1898, 10,439 students were instructed in residential schools only 527 students attended day schools. Ibid., p. 49.

with the least strain of attention, and the least diversion from the thought to the organ of its expression."[19]

Charges of Mismanagement and Cruelty

At the close of the 1895 school year, Superintendent Felkel learned that outsiders viewed FSDB as a cruel and mismanaged facility. Objectively considering the facts, perhaps the reputation had a legitimate basis. Some saw mismanagement in the frequent requests by FSDB administration for a larger appropriation, more capital expense appropriations, and more land or money to purchase it, despite what most considered an already generous appropriation of $10,000. The school sporadically received extra appropriations as requested to cover large capital expenditures such as new buildings though no new land would be purchased until the end of the 1905 school year. FSDB appeared to develop a larger and larger student body if not a stable enrollment of the same students each year.

Despite a consistent enrollment of students and steady financial support from the state, FSDB still could not maintain a stable body of faculty and staff. Perhaps the generosity of the appropriation was a matter of opinion. The period from 1895 to 1905 revealed significant turnover of superintendents; H.N Felkel acted in the role until 1897 when Frederick Pasco assumed the role until 1900, and William Hare served from 1900-1906.

While three superintendents watched over FSDB during the period of 1895 to 1905, the faculty showed even greater turnover in positions. Resignations were usually due to faculty and staff finding employment opportunities at other institutions. FSDB was unable to compete financially with older and more settled schools: lower salaries and poorly supplied grounds and classrooms made it difficult to retain faculty and staff. During

[19] Ibid., p. 202.

this period, the American Annals of the Deaf routinely ran reports of new hires and resignations at the schools of the deaf so this may be an artifact of the nature of the business of educating deaf children at this point in history. There is no definitive evidence to indicate whether FSDB was mismanaged or that turnover was simply a matter of the nature of deaf instruction. Had the appropriation for salaries been larger, perhaps turnover of faculty and staff may have been less but this may be impossible to determine without more complete information.

With so few teachers trained in the methods of instruction for such students, the only way to keep a full faculty may have been to lure teachers away from other well-established schools. However, FSDB experienced limitations in competing with other schools over teachers because of financial demands placed on the school relative to its resources. Hare wrote "the Florida school has fewer teachers and employees, pays smaller salaries, and has poorer equipment than any other school for the deaf and blind, classed as a State school."[20] The administration of FSDB found it difficult to keep up with increasing demands against a stagnant appropriation.

Being able to draw from the body of traditional teachers may have eased the faculty retention issues. In practice, however, it was rare that well trained and seasoned traditional teachers found employment in such schools even though there is nothing to suggest that d&b instruction required special certification. With schools still growing about the country and its body of potential teachers failing to keep pace, it would seem there could be no outcome but a shortage. Such a shortage could only lead to constant change of faculty and staff without sufficient money to keep such individuals happy with their terms of employment. The accepted standards of the time assumed that academic teachers would be women and vocational or manual

[20] Biennial Report, 1900, p. 220.

teachers would be men. Also, the custom was to terminate the employment of female teachers who sought to marry, this further served to reduce available instructors.[21]

Compared to other public schools in Florida, the $10,000 appropriation seemed very generous, however, FSDB had a great number of responsibilities to the faculty, staff, and students that other schools did not bear. Considering the finances of FSDB, the school may have been unfairly accused of mismanagement. In fact, FSDB may have been drawn in too many directions with an appropriation that may have been more appropriate for a traditional school. FSDB, in contrast, provided a comprehensive range of services to its students: transportation, food, housing and laundry facilities, clothing to the less fortunate students, and constant supervision because of the residential nature of the school as well as housing for some faculty and staff. FSDB met all of these ends on an appropriation that remained at $10,000 from 1885 to 1901, despite sustained institutional growth and continued additions to the list of responsibilities toward students. A brief explanation of the use of the appropriation for FSDB appeared in the Institute Herald:

> Our School is growing rapidly and the annual appropriation is entirely too small for the demand put upon it. We receive $10,000 a year of that amount $5,157.00 goes for salaries leaving $4,843. Out of that we are expected to feed about 80 people for 8 months pay the transportation of most of the pupils to and from the Institute, clothe a goodly number and keep up the necessary repairs. It can be

[21] This custom tended to affect the oral curriculum worst as women tended to outnumber men in this aspect of dead education. Men still dominated the manual curriculum but women were quickly taking on greater roles in oral education for the deaf. Annemieke Van Drenth, "Tender Sympathy and Scrupulous Fidelity: Gender and Professionalism in the History of Deaf Education in the United States." International Journal of Disability, Development and Education 50 (December 2003): 379.

> readily seen that a very small amount is left for improvements.[22]

In real terms, FSDB often did better with its resources than other types of facilities. Hare reported a comparison between FSDB and the local sheriff's office to demonstrate that:

> In spite of high prices for food. . . our bills on file in your office [Superintendent of Public Instruction] this term will show that it costs the State less per capita to furnish food here for the teachers, pupils, and employees of the school than is paid the sheriff to feed prisoners. We are furnishing food, as to quantity, quality, and variety the best that the means allowed will permit.[23]

The Superintendent compared the provision of resources of local prisoners to that offered the students at the school. On the surface, such an argument appears to be seemingly mismatched. However, there may have been a very logical and politically motivated reason for it. The FSDB Superintendent chose to compare the feeding of students to the feeding of criminals in the local jail to underscore the fact that the more deserving pupils are getting by with less. Although this comparison might be more appropriately made with other residential schools for deaf and blind students to better illustrate efficiency, few other ways could have demonstrated the more pressing need to feed the pupils of FSDB.

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[22] The Institute Herald, 1899, pp. 1-5. This is just part of the campaign to demonstrate the financial need of the school which started almost immediately with the creation of the school lasting decades into its early history.

[23] Biennial Report, 1900, p. 220.

While most other facilities like FSDB did not charge for tuition, they tended to have other forms of continued support such as permanent building support, municipal financial support, endowments that FSDB did not have.[24] FSDB did have a smaller population and faculty than most other schools but had a somewhat smaller per pupil expenditure.

The Alabama School taught a similar combined curriculum and industrial curriculum for the blind, and had a de facto separation of the races like FSDB. Although they had a larger enrollment, their $230 per capita expenditure allowed a larger degree of freedom for Alabama that Florida could not enjoy itself.[25] A few years later in 1902, Hare wrote:

> We ask for only a per capita cost of $200, which is $30 less than Alabama with her 255 pupils, $100 less than the per capita cost of the Utah School, and $100 less than the Northern New York School with an attendance of 78. We estimate an attendance of 80. And the per capita asked for is $50 less than the average per capita cost of all the schools for the Deaf, and $60 less than the average per capita cost of all the schools for the Blind. And it should be borne in mind that, unlike the schools for the normal children, this schools is dependent wholly on the older states for expert teachers and experienced supervisors. We must pay salaries equal to those received elsewhere in order to command an efficient, permanent corps of helpers.[26]

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[24] American Annals of the Deaf, 1898, pp. 48-55.

[25] Ibid., pp. 48-49; Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, Biennial Report of the Superintendent of the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind 2 (1902): 9.

[26] Ibid., p. 8.

The Superintendent of FSDB fortunately had a good deal of comparative data to demonstrate that the school was able to provide for its community with few resources. The charges of mismanagement were easily dispelled. The charges of cruelty, however, were a bit more difficult to evade with less direct evidence. No hard evidence of cruelty existed as rumors circulated unfettered. Biennial Reports indicated that expulsion was handed down for purely administrative reasons: sometimes feeble-minded students were incorrectly sent to FSDB or students behaved in ways that cause gross interruptions in the academics of other students. Less than one student per year faced such a penalty as indicated in superintendent reports. More students were dismissed each year because they were unsuitable academically, feeble-minded, or otherwise not trainable. There is no evidence to suggest that any expulsion was unjustifiable or that it was handed down simply for punishment. No documents were found that listed discipline policies to compare discipline meted out and published institutional policies. There is no mention of corporal punishment even though historically such punishment appeared in other educational settings. Public schools sometimes used corporal punishment but the use of such punishment declined due to the efforts of Horace Mann and other reformers.[27]

Students were required to perform chores and often more difficult tasks as needed. Upgrades to the school infrastructure may have been considered overly burdensome to the students. Such work performed by the students may have been a source of abuse rumors, if not something that prolonged such ideas. In 1895, FSDB erected a new building and constructed new water closets; contracted labor completed the work. In general, the more significant work on campus was contracted out after a competitive bid. However, older male students were often required to do

[27] Rury, 2002.

significant labors in keeping up the infrastructure of the school.

In 1900, FSDB put some of the boys of the school to work repairing part of the campus sewage system.

> Under the direction of Dr. Rainey, the local health officer, our boys have repaired and relaid an old sewer pipe that once drained the pond to the northwest of the Institute. If our efforts to drain this pond hall prove a permanent success, I feel that the only local cause of bad health have been removed.[28]

During this time, FSDB employed several over-age students to help the instructors of printing. The 1902 Biennial Report of Superintendent of FSDB also demonstrated a level of support from the students in keeping the infrastructure and operation of the school going.

> All the pupils are expected to work two or three hours every afternoon. Sewing, knitting, fancy work, house-work, ironing, dress-making, bead-making and basket making are done by the girls. The deaf boys, not in the printing office, work about the place, do repairing, saw wood, and learn the use of carpenters' tools, and gardening. The blind boys and girls learn chair-caning, bead-work, basket-weaving, type-writing, and music.[29]

FSDB touted the educational opportunity through such chores on campus but these activities also cut costs for the school. This was a common practice among residential institutions of higher learning at the time as well as other residential deaf and

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[28] Biennial Report, 1900, p. 217.

[29] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1902, p.6.

blind schools. This practice was almost unheard of in day schools for the deaf and blind.

By not having to contract services out or hire additional staff, FSDB could save money or overcome previous appropriation shortfalls. For example, in constructing a building for black male students in 1898, which cost $2,168 and was paid from its appropriation for that school year, only $1000 was later re-appropriated to FSDB for the building. The following year the use of students to complete repairs to the sewer lines saved time by not having to go through a bidding process for the job but money by not paying the student workers. All the other upkeep and purchases of new equipment, FSDB searched for methods of savings and given the circumstances it appeared that use of home-grown labor was one such device.

Around this time, the school opened its doors as a regular tourist spot. FSDB regularly posted hours in the local newspaper to make locals and tourists aware of the days and times appropriate for visiting the school. Prying eyes do not necessarily constitute mistreatment but the display of students at FSDB was not something that students in the local public schools had to endure. In addition, music students performed a significant number of times throughout Saint Augustine far in excess of local public schools. These conditions may have contributed to the rumors of abuse and may have constituted a difference in the treatment of FSDB students from other local students. Nothing, however, appeared to incontrovertibly demonstrate student abuse or otherwise display flagrant mistreatment as rumors often suggested.

In 1901, an incident occurred at FSDB that may have continued the allegations against the school. Some alleged the whipping received by the son of Mr. and Mrs. Bartola Pacetti was "unnecessarily severe," the instructor maintained that he "chastised the boy, but not severely, for failing to comply with

the rules of the institute."[30] There were no other public reports about the incident and the situation faded away without clear resolution. This incident could not have the source of rumors as it occurred years after the rumors began circulating but it did appear to keep the rumor mill grinding. FSDB fought for years to dispel the rumors using all avenues including the biennial reports.

In the 1904 Report, William Hare, Superintendent of the School, appeared to indirectly make the argument that if any one were being cruel to the students of FSDB, it would have to be the legislature for not appropriating a more reasonable lot of resources.[31] By not providing the proper resources, the legislature put FSDB in a position to require its students to perform work toward the upkeep of the school facilities, perform music for the locals, and otherwise eke out an existence for the faculty, staff, and students on rations less than those given to common criminals.

Whether or not FSDB deserved these labels, mismanaged and cruel, may be open to interpretation. The case presented here relies on the idea that FSDB was not properly funded and tended to rely on tools that may have had the outward appearance of cruelty toward its pupils but served as cost saving devices aimed at preserving the financial integrity of the institution. Whatever the case, FSDB was no longer the school that could do no wrong as the saintly institution among the Florida system. FSDB would be just as accountable for spending its appropriation and educating its pupils.

The special education profession emerged in an era when efficiency was king.[32] Anything that could demonstrate some

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[30] St. Augustine Evening Record, 22 November 1901, p. 1.

[31] Biennial Report, 1904, pp. 12-14.

[32] Callahan, 1962. For many schools, school reports had much more hard data including expenditures, enrollments, and anything that could

measure of efficiency or provide comparative analysis, such as per capita expenditure, became factual data to be reported and demonstrate efficiency. It was no surprise that FSDB began reporting per capita expenditures and often compared its figures to other states or other state functions. None of the FSDB Superintendents were shy in demonstrating that the school's appropriation per capita was well below any other school in the nation - even those schools that provided only for the deaf or blind in a single race setting. FSDB has long recognized that it operated dual schools for the black and white populations, as few other schools would have to do – much less under the appearance of cruelty and mismanagement. Despite the highly negative conditions, FSDB survived.

Institutional Administrative and Academic Structure

During this period, FSDB continued its trend of growth and development from its original 5-acre plot to add another 12 acres in 1905, spreading north and east.[33] This would increase the capacity to serve its students but it also served further separation of the races. The separation of races was a reality that needed to remain in order to preserve some of the public support for the school. Under normal conditions, FSDB often mentioned its de facto separation of black and white students. With the close of the period, it appeared that the multifaceted attack on the legislatures control over the purse strings might have been successful. The legislature offered an increased appropriation to cover the cost of adding acreage to campus. For years William Hare, and Frederick Pasco before him, begged for a

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be expressed quantitatively or in comparative figures. The qualitative report no longer served a purpose in the age of efficiency.

[33] Kerr, 1985, p. 41.

chance to expand the grounds of FSDB, their begging finally earned its recompense.

For years, the main complaints lodged by the two former FSDB heads were: lack of space made proper training of the mind difficult and the presence of black and white students (though we are frequently reminded they are physically separated) within close proximity to one another on the original five acre plot. To avoid any tribulations under Sheats' Law, which forbade white teachers or administrators for black students from living in the same facilities as their pupils or instructing black and white students together, FSDB made an even greater effort to demonstrate that they made special efforts to provide separate facilities for blacks and white. To this end, FSDB opened the school to public tours and regularly advertised their hours in the local newspapers for such tours. These tours served to exhibit the function of their school as well as the obvious separation of the races.

Sheats' Law

As a school that educated both black and white pupils, FSDB made extraordinary efforts to demonstrate that the school instructed and housed the races separately. Other schools were not so sensitive to Southern mores. Superintendent of Public Instruction William Sheats scrutinized, if not persecuted, a handful of missionary schools in nearby Orange Park, for their persistence in teaching black students. This practice flew in the face of the new Sheats' Law aimed at separating black students from their white teachers. Some faculty and administrators claimed the law was aimed directly at their individual schools and Sheats sought to make examples of them. These schools pointed at an 1896 event in which Sheats had several teachers arrested for violations of Sheats' Law. This enforcement of Sheats' Law became a lightning rod for Northerners

interested in missionary schools in the south with the arrest of teachers only further polarizing the debate.

On April 10, 1896, Sheats had seven teachers and two students arrested at the Orange Park School in Orange Park, Florida under the year old "Sheats' Law" for violating the provisions that forbade "white and colored persons to be instructed within the same building [and] white principal or matron or guardian of the school rooming or living within the same building where their pupils are."[34] In response to the arrests, frequent prodding from several prominent Christian organizations, and the General Conference of the Methodist Church passage of a "resolution denouncing this iniquitous enactment," the American Missionary Association brought the issue to court.[35] Despite massive outcry, Sheats' Law eventually ended the Orange Park School as local officials arrested and rearrested school officials and faculty over a period of weeks, with the full support of the State Attorney. As promised, Sheats prosecuted the school relentlessly, eventually driving it out of existence.

Given the example made of the Orange Park School, schools such as FSDB that housed or taught black and white pupils became anxious about their perceived adherence to the law and frequently publicized their insistence that it kept the students properly separated. These public testaments were issued to attract white students but now appeared to ward off the specter of Sheats' Law that loomed across the State.

Changing the Name of the School

During this period, FSDB officially changed its name to the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind by an act of the State of Florida. Until this point, the usual moniker was the Florida Institute for the Blind and Deaf and Dumb. Hare demonstrated

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[34] The American Missionary, 1896, p. 179.

[35] Ibid., p. 179.

that the battle to disassociate the school with non-educational endeavors through this symbolic name change:

> I recommend also that the name of the school be changed to the Florida School for the Deaf and the Blind. This is not an asylum for the afflicted, nor a charity home. . . it is a school for the special class. All the words like 'indigent blind' . . . in connection with this school, should be eliminated from the law governing the case. As it is part of the great system of public education, and no part of the *charitable* system of the State, so change the law, as to have the *educational* nature of the work emphasized.[36]

This was an unending struggle for FSDB and other deaf and blind schools to fight association with the asylums, institutions, and other facilities that sought to serve the special, non-educational needs of individuals.

The Feebleminded and New Ground for Reformers and Educators

In the very late 19th and early 20th centuries, reformers found a new category of individuals to serve, the then-called 'feeble-minded' or retarded children. Previously, blind and deaf schools fought association with institutions such as insane asylums and convalescence homes. Now, a new form of social reform was under way to aid the retarded. FSDB found itself again having to stress its specialized educational mission for a new reason: avoiding confusion with the new movement developing. In support of this process, FSDB made sure that dismissal of students for the reason of feeblemindedness appeared in print in the local newspaper and all public reports. Reports of students dismissed for behavioral problems or academic deficiencies often

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[36] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1902, p. 8.

accompanied such public disclosures usually including the student's full name. These public disclosures were most likely a double warning to other parents from sending their children inappropriately to FSDB whether they were retarded or otherwise untrainable or unteachable due to behavioral issues.

FSDB and Transportation Costs

FSDB offered paid transportation, from distant locations to the school, as a way to lure potential students and retain current students. School districts all across Florida employed "transportation of pupils to and from school at the expense of the public" as a way of "making common-school instruction more universal."[37] Duval County, just north of the home of FSDB in St. Johns County, was the "first county to use this system to any considerable extent. . . in 1898" and "since then nearly every county of the State has resorted to free transportation for children living too far from school to walk."[38] FSDB may have needed more resources than any other school to provide such transportation because it drew from all regions of the state. While transportation was generally not required on a daily basis because FSDB was a residential school, students often had to travel larger distances all at the same time each year. St. Augustine fortunately had access to the railway and navigable waterways that made such transportation possible, if not less expensive. These costs may have been the origin of Henry Flagler's interest in FSDB because his railways were used heavily by FSDB students at the start and finish of each school year.

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[37] Cochran, 1921, p. 114.

[38] Ibid., p. 114-5.

Institutional Student Life and Instruction

Despite the issues that plagued the school during this period, many new firsts came to FSDB especially in the area of student life. In 1898, FSDB finally graduated its first students. On May 26, 1898, Artemas Pope and Cora Carlton became the first two deaf graduates.[39] Pope and Carlton may have made another first at FSDB by marrying on July 2, 1901.[40] They later had three sons, one of whom grew up to be a Florida State Senator and Congressman who showed a great deal of support for FSDB. In 1943, year of his retirement from the Saint Augustine Record newspaper, Pope joined the FSDB faculty as a printing instructor. More information appeared in print about the students of FSDB then had appeared in previous years. The students themselves had become an interesting aspect of the school.

The school had taken a bigger interest in the students individually and it showed in the Superintendent Reports and pieces available in The Herald. For the first time, FSDB appeared to take an interest in the people of the school and recognized their contributions in a way that had been lost since first recognizing the founder, T. H. Coleman. Perhaps this was a prong of its marketing campaign to attract further students, as well as garner recognition and further appropriations. It was also recognition that FSDB was now a viable institution that had built its own culture and traditions. The next president taking over in 1906 would really solidify this enculturation figuratively and literally as the longest spanning president with a tenure beginning in 1906 until his unexpected death in 1927.[41]

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[39] Kerr, 1985, p. 50.

[40] Ibid., p. 50.

[41] Walker was the first head of FSDB to use the term President dropping the former name of Superintendent.

By 1902, FSDB administrators made a few minor refinements to the school organization: a head teacher position was created, a more structured system of oral classes for the white deaf students were offered - taught on a rotating basis by two female teachers, and a supervisor of the little boys position was created to separate them from the older boys. Overall, many modifications came to the curriculum. FSDB reported "our course of study had been so changed, and text books purchased, as to bring us in line with the experience of teachers coming to us from older and better schools."[42]

Curricular Changes

Although FSDB was generally isolated, the school still changed as part of the larger educational system of Florida, mirroring changes in the traditional schools. By 1900, FSDB provided a curriculum that incorporated standard textbooks based on the New York Point System (NYPS) for the blind and an overhaul of the deaf curriculum was instituted emulating a more standard combined instructional system. Essentially, the NYPS was a system of dots used to represent letters, numbers, punctuation marks, and commonly used syllables that could enable blind students to read.[43] The standardization of material helped lead the way to a more standardized curriculum. Through a more standard curriculum came the possibility of articulation into Gallaudet College for the Deaf. The first student attempted articulation into Gallaudet in 1905. Abbie Goff took the entrance exams but scores did not appear to be available before

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[42] Biennial Report, 1902, p. 6.

[43] Outlook for the Blind. "In Memoriam-William B. Wait." Outlook for the Blind 10 (Autumn 1916): 66-71. The NYPS was developed by William Bell Wait, which also gave rise to a number of other systems including one for musical notations. Widespread use of the NYPS enjoyed a further boost by the invention of the Kleidograph, which embossed paper in the NYPS and led to a practical typewriter system for the blind.

the end of the school year.[44] The history of the school would eventually show greater articulation of deaf students to Gallaudet after years of attention to the goal.

The 1899-00 school year saw blind students increasingly using the New York Point System and other new textbooks. These improvements were aimed at adding to the curricular strength for the blind students. It is unclear if doing so was intended to aid articulation to higher education or merely bolster its curriculum; there was no direct mention in available sources. The evidence suggested that these improvements were, in fact, *not* aimed at articulation because FSDB had yet to graduate a blind student much less try to direct a graduate toward an institution of higher learning. Superintendent Hare reported, "in the colored department the work has been raised to the same standard and uses the same courses of study, exercises and disciplines."[45] The record, however, indicated that black students lagged behind the white students. Overall, great attention appeared to be devoted to the curriculum at FSDB but only the white deaf students showed any recognizable improvements as indicated by graduation and other student achievements.

Curricular Differences Based on Race and Ability

While the first white deaf graduates left FSDB in 1898, the first white blind graduate would not matriculate until 1908. The dates are even later for black students. FSDB matriculated its first black blind graduate in 1914 and its first black deaf graduate in 1925.[46] Despite the claims of the Superintendent that FSDB afforded black students the same opportunities as their white counterparts, the evidence did not support such statements.

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[44] St. Augustine Evening Record, 31 May 1905, p. 4.

[45] Biennial Report, 1900, p. 218.

[46] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1956, p. 92-93.

Even beyond the campus of FSDB, real educational opportunities for black deaf students did not exist. Gallaudet College had not opened its doors to female or black students. Without a specialized college as the deaf could attend, blind students faced the reality that FSDB would be the terminus of their academics.[47]

For the black students, there was little academic rigor in their studies. Black students completed highly applied training with little emphasis placed on aiming students toward higher levels of education. Scant attention appeared to be devoted to graduating black pupils. In the south, this was typical of black education. Samuel C. Armstrong, an educator at The Hampton Institute opted to focus on applied trades and:

> structured the curriculum around vocational instruction in domestic science, agriculture, and the building trades. His idea was not only to train black students in particular skills but also to produce a new generation of conservative race leaders, most of them teachers, who would work to adjust the black population to its subordinate position in the emergent New South.[48]

During this period, each biennial report generally added a couple of lines that read, "The Negro School: This school, while on the same lot, is taught by separate teachers and cared for in separate buildings. The same course of study and discipline are followed, as far as possible, as in the white department."[49] Only in 1899 did the black school enjoy any consequential attention when a state appropriation allowed for the construction of a new

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[47] Biennial Report, *various years*.

[48] Leloudis, 1996, p. 182.

[49] Biennial Report, 1902, p. 6.

facility for these students.[50] This showed attention to the infrastructure yet offered no mention of materials or substantial curricular improvement when maps, new texts, musical instruments and other pieces of tangible equipment were acquired for the white students.

Nationwide, the education of traditional students was in flux as industrial leaders such as Andrew Carnegie became influential in curricula nationwide. In 1902, Carnegie, referring to the classical curriculum, said that it "wastes energies upon obtaining knowledge of such languages as Greek and Latin, which are of no practical use to them than Choctaw."[51] Falling in line with other realms of education, blind and deaf education continued reinforcing applied and vocational education. The Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of FSDB showed an enthusiastic presentation of deaf graduates who have secured employment in the printing business. The 1902 Biennial Report accounted that all three of the 1901 graduates from the white deaf department had entered the printing business after learning the trade at FSDB.[52] The school often touted printing as a path to self-sufficiency for the deaf. For blind students, music was described as such a path.

Oral and Manual Curricula

The first murmurs of cooperation between oralism and manual instruction for the deaf begins to appear in the Annals of the

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[50] Perhaps the issue of blacks on the same campus as white could face scrutiny under the Sheats' Law, attention to which FSDB did not want to be subject based on the events at the Orange Park Missionary school.

[51] Andrew Carnegie, The Empire of Business (New York: Double Day, 1902), p. 79-81. This work is also cited in Callahan, 1962, p. 9 and Baynton, 1996, p. 94. Vocational education saw a great deal of support by industrialist who sought to influence education to meet the needs of industry or pursue their own social agendas.

[52] Biennial Report, 1902, p. 4.

Deaf. In 1896, Mary E. Griffin, a teacher of articulation at the Minnesota School, made a vocal and public case for the combined effort of instruction in her article "The Co-operation of Workers:"

> The true teacher, who is working for the greatest good to the greatest number, believes in using any method by which one isolated because of his deafness may be brought into touch with those around him. If, then, the most possible is to be accomplished in any of our schools, it must be by the hearty co-operation of all connected within the institution. Unless the hearing teachers in the manual department aid the articulation teacher, it is up-hill work for the latter.[53]

The curriculum made an about face from its form just a matter of a couple of years earlier by 1900. The conflict between oralism and manualism that once seemed to heavily favor the oralist camp with its outspoken, high profile leaders, transformed into an educational stalemate with calls for truce between the two methods. Despite the oralist onslaught since 1867, the "effort to supplant the manual method by the oral, is, therefore, unmistakably in favor of a combined system in which the best effects of both methods may be secured."[54] Neither manualism nor oralism completely eradicated it competitor. As late as 1920, some schools still offered curricula that were either oral or manual in nature, but these were in a very small minority. By this time, the combined method of instruction had become nearly universal. A truce and a compromise between the

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[53] Mary E. Griffin, "The Co-operation of Workers." American Annals of the Deaf 41 (1896): 66. This also represented a call to other schools and instructors to seek a more standard curriculum and approach to best meet the needs of deaf students.

[54] American Annals of the Deaf, 1897, p. 277.

camps to co-exist peacefully on campuses across the nation in a combined system became the status quo. Interestingly, the whole controversy between oralism and manualism never really had a great impact on FSDB. Oralism became more likely to be taught to the higher performing students, but manual instruction remained as part of the combined system of FSDB. Hare wrote, "in teaching the deaf the best results cannot be secured by any one method."[55]

A Clear and Present Danger on Campus

With the curricular settled and FSDB attracting students with more success, an old but newly recognized clear and present danger on campus emerged as an issue: lack of fire safety. With so many people in wooden buildings using wood stoves for cooking and heating and kerosene for light, explosions and fire became a common occurrence. The Superintendent claimed that "Florida alone has her blind and deaf school in wooden buildings and heated by the ordinary wood heaters, and lighted with kerosene lamps."[56] The FSDB administration used the condition a method of demonstrating how the school had fallen so far behind technologically in the growing modernity that its students were in danger. Administrators often used this as a tool to plead for further appropriations to pay for modifications to the school's infrastructure.

No other students in Florida schools were in the same danger as those at FSDB. Most other schools might use the same kerosene devices for light and wood-burning heaters but they did not live in the facilities as did FSDB students. As a residential school, FSDB provided heat and light in the classrooms as well as living quarters while also providing kitchen facilities. With many students just learning to be

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[55] Biennial Report, 1900, p. 217

[56] Biennial Report, 1904, p. 13. For decades, administrators decried the safety at the school due the hazards of oil lamps.

around or use such implements for heat and light and learning to use cooking facilities, the volatile fixtures were accidents waiting to happen. The FSDB administration tried to instill these realities into the minds of legislators when making appropriations through the School's Biennial Report and the Herald. In these documents, they often presented calls for larger appropriations as attempts to secure greater resources to make the facilities less susceptible to fire and safer for faculty, staff, and students. Hare wrote in the 1902 Biennial Report of the Superintendent:

> Florida alone, of all states, risks the health and lives of its deaf and blind children in wooden buildings, heated by wood heaters, and lighted by the ordinary kerosene lamps. After eighteen years of danger this Institute pleads for those whose *lives* are in *constant jeopardy*.[57]

Financial Issues

With the opening of the 1901-1902 school year, FSDB could breathe a little easier. The legislature had increased the appropriation by $2000 to $12000.[58] At the end of the 1902-1903 school year, FSDB netted an additional $134.31 through work done and products fixed or repaired by students, nearly enough to cover salaries at the school for one month.[59] With additional income from the shoe shop, printing office, and work from the other vocational departments and the farm, and the increased appropriation, FSDB finally realized adequate resources to compete with other schools for instructors and buy resources.

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[57] Biennial Report, 1902, p. 10. This was one of many calls for additional appropriations.

[58] Ibid., p. 16.

[59] Biennial Report, 1904, p. 19; Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1901, p. 214.

FSDB had found that the incessant outcries about the safety of the wooden buildings paid off handsomely. With its increase in resources, FSDB purchased refrigerators for its food, large kitchen ranges for cooking, tanks and pipes for water heat as well as an assortment of textbooks, blackboards, maps, desks, and other school supplies. The additional money also bought more beds and bedding for the school's 73 students – the largest enrollment since opening. The school also did some other minor renovations to buildings to add a chapel and a study lounge.

Chapter Commentary

The most pressing issues of finances and clearing the institutional reputation appeared to have been met satisfactorily by the close of 1905. These institutional attacks had been effectively met and averted. The rumors of abuse disappeared, perhaps quelled by the new level of openness that FSDB now presented to the local community. The charges of mismanagement vanished after true measures of efficiency emerged to the light of day. The spoils went to the victorious school in the form of larger appropriations to afford a more adequate living condition on the campus of FSDB. Perhaps the most eloquent words offered about FSDB came from the departing Superintendent Hare, who said, the school was finally "brought into better working harmony with other institutions for the deaf and blind."[60]

[60] Biennial Report, 1902, p. 5.

CHAPTER 5

THE SUCCESSFUL RECORONATION: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FSDB FROM 1905 to 1917

To this point in the history of FSDB, the school had developed through predominantly good times but had withstood tests of scrutiny and managed to operate under lean appropriations. FSDB was about to enter into a great expansion and maturation process. Florida was entering into another period of financial explosion not seen since the 1880s. The population of the state was increasing quickly, tourism was booming, and industry was growing due in part to the work of Henry M. Flagler and his associates. Tourism and trade benefited greatly from the construction of a number of resorts and establishment of a modern rail system on the east coast of Florida. With the growth of railroads that "helped transform the swamps and sand dunes of South Florida into valuable agricultural and industrial lands" [and the] "influx of farmers and tradesmen, laborers and professional men," Florida experienced unprecedented development that "prefaced a broad cultural development and intellectual stimulation."[1] Schools across the state were growing and multiplying to meet the increased demands for education at all levels. One result of this expansion was that existing schools asked for larger and larger appropriations.

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[1] Adams, 1962, p. 132. Adams discusses the extreme development that took place as Florida moved into the 20th century and a need for a management strategy overcame the higher education system of the state the precipitated the passage of the Buckman Bill.

Like many other institutions, FSDB had been pleading with the state for a larger appropriation. These entreaties went unanswered for decades and with the near universal call for increased financial support throughout the educational system, the deaf and blind school surprisingly received a more sizable appropriation. According to the Reports of the Superintendent, the increase was to better protect the students of the school from fire and disaster. For years, leaders of FSDB decried the potential for danger posed by the use of oil lamps; the effort finally paid off. The administration had learned a great deal in searching out resources, making allies, and choosing battles during its rapid maturation process. The state eventually addressed many of these issues with appropriations with more than adequate funding.

External Forces Influencing Institutional Operation

During the formative years of FSDB, different individuals acted to influence the development of institution, battles of ideas affected administrative decisions, financial conditions in the state bore direct effect on the management of the school, and the political atmosphere of Florida often set the tone for the immediate future of FSDB. This section is devoted to these issues as they make their mark on the development of the institution during the times from 1905 to 1917. By this time, it is evidenced that leaders of FSDB had become savvy enough to truly stand on their own in the political landscape and FSDB had become a fixture in the educational firmament – not faded away as an ephemeral education fad.

Even though Florida had entered into financially good times again, the State was looking for managerial ways to save money to prepare for future economic downturns. Adams points out "the consolidation of management and budgetary requests held promise

for substantial savings to further benefit the state."[2] M.H.H. Buckman of Duval County wrote legislation to help meet this state goal.

The Buckman Bill

Aside from meeting the State budgetary goals of cost savings, the Buckman Bill also addressed the problem of growing disarray within the higher education system of Florida.[3] On May 15, 1905, the Special Committee on State Institutions "reported the first two measures unfavorably to the House."[4] With feedback from the failed measures and conciliatory changes, the Buckman Bill found its way to the House on May 18th. To ensure passage of the bill, Buckman offered relocation or abolishment of some institutions. Proctor stated that this appeared to be "political dynamite" meaning that institutions were likely to fight ferociously against their abolishment or localities were likely "resent any attempt to have their schools removed."[5] In Buckman's own words the heart of the measure aimed at fiscal maintenance of the educational system of Florida:

> The time has come when we must prune out some of the sprouts, which have grown up in the educational institutions of Florida, since the appropriations required for the maintenance and support have grown beyond the resources of the state to supply.[6]

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[2] Adams, 1962, p. 133.

[3] Adams, 1962.

[4] Samuel Proctor, Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat (Gainesville, F.L.: University of Florida Press, 1950), p. 226.

[5] Ibid., p. 226.

[6] Ibid., p. 227. Proctor quoted Buckman's statements on the floor of the Florida House opening debate on the educational measure on May 18, 1905.

Not only did the bill bring the six state-controlled institutions of higher education together under central management including FSDB, it also shook up the status quo of the state education system. When asked why he drafted the Buckman Bill, he replied:

> Imbued with the idea since I came to the legislature, and hearing the dissatisfaction around me from both member of the House and Senate, understanding from hearing the reports submitted from different institutions, from the records in the comptroller's office, from the records in the Treasure's office, in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, consulting these gentlemen … and finding that the sentiment was being crystallized and something must be done, I probably stepped in like a fool where angels fear to tread—I drafted this bill.[7]

Essentially, the Buckman Bill was a way to reinvent the educational system to better allocate resources, control parochial interests, and, in general, provide more complete accountability to the state organizations.

Despite the charges of cruelty and comparisons to "the iniquity of Satan's own heart," the bill passed.[8] Not all institutions were negatively impacted. It appears that FSDB may have been in better shape after the introduction of the Buckman Bill. Additional appropriation had the immediate effect of making campus safer as the school could use less oil burning lamps for light and switch to electric lights.

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[7] Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), 4 May 1905 quoted in Adams, 1962, p. 140-1.

[8] Proctor, 1950, p. 227.

While FSDB was not an institution of higher learning, it was still an institution directly managed by state agents with input from a local board of trustees. This bill was a convenient way to help consolidate the management of the school, changing the direction of the school from a local board to the state board of education. According to Buckman, the only fair way to reorganize the system was to "wipe out a system which was antagonistic each to the other, and to create one which should be one of uniformity alone."[9] Adams reiterated the essence of Buckman's motivation: "it was useless to create a dozen schools to do the work of one; that the state was too young, the population too small, and the means of support inadequate."[10]

The Buckman Bill had two effects on FSDB directly: the name of the school was officially changed back to THE INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND, DEAF AND DUMB, and the special board of trustees that oversaw FSDB was abolished.[11] FSDB found itself managed now by one general board of control that also managed the University of Florida, the Florida Female College, (later Florida State College for Women, and eventually Florida State University) and the Negro Normal School (eventually Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University). For each school, the new Board of Control effectively fired the entire staff but subsequently rehired every one back. Similarly, the act abolished every institution of higher education but then recreated them under a new system of control. The Florida Female College (FFC) and the University of Florida (UF) solidified structure of the Florida higher education

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[9] Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), 4 May 1905 quoted in Adams, 1962, p. 141.

[10] Adams, 1962, p. 141. Buckman's motives appear to be influenced by the ideas of scientific management regarding efficiency and accountability. While earlier quotes demonstrated a call to enter into a viper pit that most did not want face, it may have been growing popular support for such ideas if not merely the political will to fix a simmering problem.

[11] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1906, pp. 4-5.

system separating men and women. FFC and UF became the exclusively female and male institutions of higher learning respectively for the state.

The changes instituted by the Buckman Bill were more substantial than name changes and designation of gender-based education. The reorganization of FSDB also demonstrated that the once-beleaguered institution came of age as a fixture in the educational system of Florida, being reestablished as the crown jewel of state education. When other schools scrambled to reconsider the size of their budget requests, FSDB decried the lack of funds to adequately provide for its students. In the end, when many schools suffered budget reductions or were otherwise abolished, FSDB enjoyed an increased appropriation. The larger appropriation allowed the possibility to meet needs and pursue other avenues of student services and instruction that the school had just begun to explore.[12]

New Leaders in the Special Education Movement

Until the very late 19th and early 20th century, leaders in the movement of special education were usually teachers, activists, doctors, scientists, or scholars who were not themselves disabled but interested in the disability movement. Greater social acceptance and awareness of people with disabilities made it possible for the public to listen to emerging leaders, such as Helen Keller, who were themselves disabled. Such high profile individuals with disabilities, like Keller, were a new development in the history of disability. These new leaders began to emerge as advocates for further access

[12] G. Ballard Simmons, "Consolidation of Higher Public Education in Florida" (Doctoral Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1933), p. 83-184. Work quoted in Adams, 1962, p. 139. "It was at a crucial point, when there was a good possibility that some schools would be abolished, that the representatives of the institutions decided to reduce their initial budget request."

to education, and even wider and more far-reaching acceptance of people with disabilities.

Keller was not the first deaf and blind individual to be educated; there was Laura Bridgman before her but Keller became the earliest and most vocal advocate for the disabled, if not the most widely known. Keller argued that people with disabilities could become fully independent citizens through their own hard work and diligence. "Keller's own work as a writer and public speaker not only was very important to her, as meaningful work is for many people, but she used it as a tool to claim full and equal citizenship."[13] While Keller helped to pave the road that would eventually lead to greater participation of the disabled in wider society, there were several shortcomings of her attempts. Her idealized acceptance of deaf and blind individuals never quite came to fruition. Her efforts are best characterized as an incremental step toward that goal.

Foucault's idea that the special schools "in general performed disciplinary functions by preparing pupils for economic utility and political obedience" is demonstrated, if not reinforced, by Keller's call for recognition of good citizenship for disabled individuals through earning a living.[14] Nielsen pointed out through Keller's strenuous work to bring the idea to social reality, Keller herself was not "economically self sufficient as she desired and claimed to be. . . In fact just as many disabled individuals relied on the benevolence of others, the money Keller earned was not enough to support herself and Anne Sullivan [her teacher] in the fashion both desired and so

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[13] Kim Nielsen, "Helen Keller and the Politics of Civic Fitness." In Longmore, Paul K. and Umansky, Lauri, Eds. 2001. The New Disability History: American Perspectives (New York: New York University Press), p. 271.

[14] Jane Berger, "Uncommon Schools: Institutionalizing Deafness In Early Nineteenth-Century America." Unpublished paper, n. d., p. 21.

the pair had to depend on the philanthropy of the wealthy for their daily needs."[15]

Nielsen also pointed out that Keller's publicly avowed point of view might have been in conflict with other social understandings of the time. Keller's claim on her own self-sufficiency was in direct conflict with social norms related to women, in general. The basic idea of being a mother and housekeeper as a woman in the early 20th century, as was typically expected of women, did not appear to be much of a concern for Keller. Nielsen stated this conflict further "reinforced her status as aberrant."[16] In this way, Keller deviated from Foucault's description of the function of deaf education at the time.[17] This demonstrated the difference between the functions of the educational facilities as essentially conservative machines to solidify a more cohesive society under the existing set of notions that may have been at odds with what many individuals hoped to gain through their training or education.

Although Foucault claimed that individuals who were deaf might "escape their stigma if they diligently conformed to mainstream values."[18] Nielsen helped to show that such individuals might *always* be aberrant. While Helen Keller may have believed that her disability "uniquely advanced her citizenship," there was clearly a tension between the desire to achieve integration into larger society and the belief that

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[15] Nielsen, 2001, pp. 271-2. Nielsen demonstrates the duplicity of Helen Keller's calls for all people with disabilities to become self-sufficient while not completely self-sufficient herself – at least regarding the level of comfort that she desired. This is not to say that Keller could have been completely self-sufficient to provide a meager living for herself.

[16] Ibid., p. 272. Keller was labeled aberrant for a multitude of reasons: being deaf and blind, supporting herself as a woman, being a vocal critic of then-modern norms, etc. She was not committed to the domestic sphere to which most women were confined at the time.

[17] Berger, n.d., p. 21; Foucault, 1977.

[18] Berger,n.d, p. 21.

having a difference in not significant enough to warrant different treatment.[19] Nielsen accused Keller of ultimately leaving herself unable to claim disability as a legitimate political grouping or as a base for legitimate political interest.[20] As a result of Keller's thought, the deaf were left prostrate to the prevailing social ideas and unable to organize as a group with legitimate collective concerns.

Perhaps the American people were willing look more closely at the situation of people with disabilities but unwilling to let go of old ideas of normality, wholeness of being a person, and acceptance of who was to be considered a viable citizen. Keller's radicalism found little acceptance among other mainstream activists and eventually the actions of her political opponents silenced her public voice.

The prevalence of capitalist and eugenics ideas dominated the public debates of civic fitness into the 1920s. Baynton wrote of the time: "the antiradicalism went hand in hand with growing national concern. . . Immigration restrictions made it increasingly difficult, particularly for a person with a disability, to be come a legal citizen. . . growing popularity of eugenic sentiments reflected the sharpened concern about physical 'fitness' of American citizens."[21] Popular ideas and federal policies sought to manage those considered civically unfit but not all citizens actively suppressed the disabled. The activists

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[19] Nielsen, 2001, p. 273. Nielsen quotes Out of the Dark: Essays on Physical and Social Vision, 1914. "Eleanor Roosevelt made a similar claim about Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Responding to a question about the consequences of FDR's illness on his mentality, she said 'Anyone who has gone through great suffering is bound to have a greater sympathy and understanding of the problems of mankind.' See Hugh Gregory Gallagher. FDR's Splendid Deception (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1985), p. 95, Chapter 10 Endnotes p. 288.

[20]Nielsen, 2001.

[21] Nielsen, p. 277; author references a 1999 conference paper given by Douglas Baynton, "The Inspection Line: Detecting Disabled Immigrants at the American Border, 1882-1924." from the Organization of American Historians.

and their benefactors continued the struggle toward a more equitable arrangement. Even wealthy capitalist and railroad magnate of Florida, Henry Flagler, made an effort to aid those less fortunate, or with disabilities, through philanthropic work in St. Augustine, Florida and elsewhere in the United States.

The Influence of Henry Flagler

Henry Flagler was immensely influential in the development of the tourist industry and the transportation infrastructure of Florida as a whole. He built hotels and train lines from North to South with a main area of operation in St. Augustine for both. With his immense wealth, Flagler aimed significant attention at helping those less fortunate and added to the local community, especially in the St. Augustine area.

Unfortunately, Flagler did not have as large an influence on FSDB as the administration would have liked. William Hare, the retiring principal of FSDB, made a point to personally thank Flagler for his "first-class dinner, the entire expense of which is met by our good friend, Mr. H. M. Flagler."[22] Except around the winter holidays, it did not appear that Flagler devoted much other attention to the school. Flagler's local major philanthropic endeavors included helping with the construction of several churches, aiding the startup of Flagler Hospital, and around 1900, supporting the financing of the construction of a local "Negro school," but Flagler's thoughts only turned toward the students of FSDB around the holidays.[23]

Flagler did have a soft spot for the children, especially around the holidays. Ever year, Flagler provided for a Thanksgiving Dinner for the faculty, staff and students of FSDB.

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[22] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1906, p. 18.

[23] Sydney Walter Martin, Florida's Flagler (Athens, G.A.: University of Georgia Press, 1949), p. 129.

He also hosted an annual Christmas party, to which he invited all the children and gave all attending children presents.[24]

Although Flagler held this event every year, from 1885 until 1912, it is not clear if FSDB students were included in these events or if a special party was held only for the FSDB children. Chandler stated that Flagler "invited every kid in St. Augustine" to a Christmas Party where all were given presents and most FSDB students would be in the area during the Christmas season. The school year ran continuously from October 1st to May 31st, with a break only available to those students whose parents "are able to come after their children and see that they are safely returned to school and promptly, no objection is raised to their home-going."[25] However, there is no mention of such an event even where FSDB cordially thanked Flagler his dinners in the pages of The Herald or the letters from the administrators.

FSDB also received the benefit of paved roads and a modern sewer system that accompanied the development of St. Augustine through the construction projects initiated by Henry Flagler. Flagler's infrastructure included the newly built rail system intended to bring the tourists to the newly developed playground for the wealthy – St. Augustine.

The influx of tourists that came to St. Augustine boosted the numbers that visited FSDB out of curiosity as the school was open to visitors during certain times of the day. Those visits

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[24] David Leon Chandler, Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1986). Chandler discussed the Christmas parties briefly and cited an interview with Charles Simmons, director of the Flagler Museum who revealed that many of them were at the Ponce de Leon Hotel. For any child, the Ponce de Leon would have been a spectacle but probably more of a treat for FSDB students (if they were in fact included in these events) who were away from home.

[25] The Florida School Herald, 1913, p. 4. Generally, the students remained at school during this time. The school made every effort to encourage students to remain on the grounds during the break but it appears that there may have been some time spent with faculty or staff taking students to local shops if they received money as a present around the holidays.

became less frequent as the battle to prove that FSDB was not mismanaged or cruel to its students had been all but won, in the preceding years. The administration found it more beneficial to expend their energy on bringing new resources to the school and developing the infrastructure instead of providing open access to the school.

Indirectly, Flagler enabled FSDB with some of the ammunition, tourists to see the school and its work, which helped them to cut down the criticism and opened a new era of development for the school. Tours and open houses continued at least into the 1920s with public access to the school decreasing as the years as passed.

There may have been some benefit derived from Flagler's rail system: easier access to the school, if not lower transportation costs to the school. The transportation expenditure was a relatively small part of FSDB's overall expenses; they, however, could not be ignored as the school grew. In the 1906-07 school year, FSDB had an enrollment of 89 students and a cost of $550.25 for student transportation among its $14,004.49 total expenditures.[26] By the 1916-17 school year, the enrollment had grown to 162 and student transportation costs rose to $1,186.15 among its $37,449.87 total expenditures.[27] Although the student body had grown larger and more diverse --coming from a wider range of counties of Florida-- transportation costs for students actually fell as a proportion of school's total expenses. While this development cannot be directly attributed to Henry Flagler, it is highly likely that the development instituted by the magnate, and other railroad developers, directly lead to greater access, higher volumes of use, and lower general transportation costs in Florida as they also paved roads and upgraded the infrastructure.

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[26] Biennial Report, 1908, p. 188.

[27] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1918, p. 31.

The Principles of Scientific Management

The year 1911 saw the publication of Fredrick Taylor's The Principles of Scientific Management, which affirmed the author as the "leading apostle for the efficiency movement."[28] Taylor lobbied that the principles of efficient operation "applied with equal force to all social activities: to the management of our homes. . . our churches, our philanthropic institutions, our universities."[29] Some educators of the deaf and blind brought these ideas to their schools for several reasons. Taylor gained major popular support through authors reprinting his ideas in popular magazines. He found support among educators with a new idea that portrayed useful or practical education as more democratic and the 'ornamental' or academic education as more aristocratic.[30]

Baynton pointed out that the new movement spurred a debate much like of the old debate between oralism versus manualism for the instruction of the deaf. Scientific management supported practical education and because of it "every subject is susceptible of an industrial or vocational interpretation [those that are not, may have] doubtful value in the curriculum and should be dropped."[31] Interestingly, FSDB made their academic curriculum for the deaf useful by making articulation to higher education possible via Gallaudet College.

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[28] Baynton, 1996, p. 97.

[29] Fredrick W. Taylor, The Principles of Scientific Management (New York: Norton, 1967). quoted in Baynton, 1996, p. 97.

[30] Baynton, 1996, p. 97 refers to Callahan, 1962 and James L. Smith, "Making Education More Practical." Annals of the Deaf 59 (November 1914): 425.

[31] E. A. Gruver, "Correlation of Liberal and Vocational Education for the Deaf," Proceedings of the Twentieth Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf, 1914 (Washington D.C.: American Instructors of the Deaf, 1915). Work quoted in Baynton, 1996, p. 97.

At the same time, the music program for the blind made a change from music performance to piano tuning as the major focus. FSDB had been through a period of scrutiny similar to this debate on course practicality via attacks on its management and charges of abuse in prior years. As a result, FSDB had been well prepared for this era. Though the school was not immune to the effects of scientific management, the waves of the movement gently washed over the school as other schools needed to learn to show results. FSDB administrators had learned to show results with each additional appropriation. In the process of struggling to keep the school solvent, they learned to do without until resources became available from the state. In fact, FSDB clearly demonstrated its efficiency in each biennial report by comparing its per capita expenditure to other state. The results routinely demonstrated that FSDB spent $100.00 less per student than the other schools. Even by the 1904-05 school year, when FSDB had received a large increase in its appropriation, the school still spent only $155.50 per capita as compared to Alabama's Deaf and Blind School expenditure of $230.00 per capita.

Institutional Administrative and Academic Structure

With $6,587 or roughly 43.9% going to salaries and wages. The $16,000 appropriation for the following year 1907-1908 had roughly 43.7% of the appropriation going to salaries and wages. The year ending in 1909 saw an appropriation of $17,024 and an increase of the expenditures on salaries and wages. The total salaries and wages of faculty and staff, $7,971, increased to 46.8% of the appropriation. The following year ending in 1910, the appropriation jumped to $20,000 and the salaries and wages rose to $9,070.09 in nominal terms but fell to 45.4% of the total appropriation. In the 1905-06 school year, FSDB had been

appropriated $15,000. The appropriation showed a rapid increase during the twelve years considered by this chapter. The 1906-1907 appropriation stayed steady at $15,000.

By the 1916-17 school year, the appropriation had risen to $32,500 with salaries and wages accounting for 52%. The following year, the FSDB appropriation exploded to $76,000 with the salaries and wages of $18,023.47 making up just over 23% of the budget. This is one of the first instances in which an FSDB head was directly appropriated money for major capital improvements. Each capital improvement traditionally had its own special appropriations.

Under the administration of Walker, excess money began accumulating in the school's Incidental Fund and Building Fund. By the end of the 1917-18 school year, FSDB has accumulated over $19,000 in its building fund. The Building Fund paid for such school additions as a new athletic field, a hospital, and building for black students, reclaiming land, purchasing land, as well as the addition of new furniture for new buildings or renovations.[32]

The span of time from 1906 to 1917 revealed a greater degree of stability of preceding eras because, for once, FSDB had a more permanent leader, Walker. The former Principal and Teacher of the Literary Department was named president in 1906 following the departure of William Hare. Waiting in the wings, Walker had learned a great number of things and put them to use, finding more resources and support for FSDB leading to the maturation of the institution. Under Walker, FSDB enjoyed unprecedented growth and greater modernity. FSDB was no longer an experiment but a school grounded in experience and success over the previous years and more ingrained in the state system by the Buckman Act.

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[32] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1918, pp. 29-30. The building funds also paid for musical instruments and a small number of scholarships ($200 worth in the 1917-1918 school year.)

Under Walker, the school began its change to electricity in 1906. In 1908, Walker wrote "[w]ithin the past two years electric lights have replaced the dangerous kerosene lamps. . . [however] stoves are still in use."[33] In addition to switch to electric lights, FSDB employed a night watchman to oversee nightly fire safety, placed fire extinguishers in multiple locations, ensured that there was a connection to the city water supply, and delayed the switch to steam heat until their wooden structures could be replaced on campus.

By July of 1905, the State Boards of Education and Control decided to make St. Augustine the permanent home of FSDB. It was at this time, that another 12 acres was added to the land holdings of the school.[34]

Despite the momentous change on campus, the calendar remained the same since 1886. The school years started October 1 and ended May 31st. During this eight-month time span, there were generally no breaks from school except for a few holidays usually including Thanksgiving, Christmas, and the birthday of the school's founder Thomas Hines Coleman on December 10th. Students generally remained at school during all of these holidays except when parents were willing and able to pay for transportation.

Students were cared for in every manner by FSDB including being clothed, housed, and fed while instructed by faculty and staff. FSDB also paid for transportation to school for the school year opening and back home at the close of the school year. With this in mind, it was cost effective to pack in as much instructional time during their eight-month school year and limit transportation costs only to one trip from home to school and one trip home.

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[33] Biennial Report, 1910, p. 189.

[34] Biennial Report, 1906, p. 5. Apparently, before this time, the school ran the risk of being relocated. The new wider tract of land made the ground ripe for expansion as long as the resources continued to flow.

Walker also helped defray the costs for the state by charging $12.50 to the parents of students who could afford to pay the tuition.[35] Though it is unclear how many students actually paid for their tuition, the school only took in $315.75 in payments during the 1906-07 academic year. No more than 25 students could have paid the $12.50 fee, although the school had an enrollment of 90. In the 1907-08 school year, FSDB brought in $247.70 so there were no more than 19 students paying for their fees, although the school enrolled 97. During this biennium, four students were graduated and at least four did not return due to illnesses, FSDB dismissed only one as ineligible, another dismissed as over age, one moved from the state, and three others left for unknown reasons.[36]

Institutional Student Life and Instruction

Over the history of FSDB, the school had a diminished capacity to attract and maintain a competent and stable faculty. The old practice of maintaining an unmarried female corps of teachers further retarded efforts in this area. Before the opening of the 1905-06 school year, Miss Jack was hired onto the faculty of FSDB but was released at her request to marry.[37] Miss Jack had been with FSDB for five years but the school was able to replace her with an experienced teacher, Miss MacNamar, who also

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[35] Biennial Report, 1910, p. 189.

[36] Ibid., pp. 177-8. Other financial data available on pages 188-9. The author made a maximum estimate of the number of students that could have possibly paid the $12.50 fee by dividing the total amount of personal checks written to the board by the $12.50 fee. In the end, the vast majority of students were still able to attend FSDB without paying the instruction fee; FSDB managed exceptionally well.

[37] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1906, p. 4. The marriage and subsequent departure of female teachers was a frequent occurrence in the field of education and it still presented a problem for retention at FSDB although rules to allow married women to teach were in use.

had five years of experience at the Nebraska School for the Deaf. FSDB experienced significant turnover for the 1905-06 school year but financial reports indicated that increased appropriations may have been used to increase salaries and provide better resources for teachers, making the school somewhat better able to attract and retain competent instructors in the future. In addition, FSDB maintained a per capita expenditure well below the national average for deaf or blind school. FSDB reported per capita expenditures of $155.50 and $162.11 for the 1904-05 and 1905-06 school years respectively at the same time average per capita expenditures were $250 and $260 at deaf and blind schools respectively.[38]

Some issues still plagued FSDB but overall it became clearer that as America was on the brink of a modern era so too was FSDB. The schools had made great progress in many areas. Higher education for graduating students was becoming more likely. The old issues of fire safety had become less of a threat. Sports appeared in the life of FSDB students. FSDB had emerged as a leader in deaf and blind school print. The education of black students emerged as a greater priority for the school.

Access to Higher Education

In 1906, the first student articulated from FSDB to Gallaudet College in Washington DC.[39] The St. Augustine Record reported that Abbie Goff had taken the entrance exams into Gallaudet at the end of the previous school year. The school was obviously excited about the new development that Miss Goff had passed her exams and would be attending Gallaudet College in the

[38] Ibid., pp. 14-17. By around 1910, the practice of comparing FSDB to other deaf and blind schools ended. This may have been due to political pressure and rising appropriations from the state.

[39] Although Gallaudet began enrolling women in 1887, Ms. Goff was the first to enroll there from FSDB.

fall semester. FSDB was sure to release the information to the local paper and print the news wherever possible. The school also included such information in the school's Biennial Report of 1904-06, noting this event as evidence that their "work for the deaf is good and improving."[40] By 1917, FSDB wrote in their admissions literature that the curriculum for the deaf was developed such that those, "who desire a higher education, are prepared for admission to Gallaudet College, Washington D.C."[41]

In the opening of the 1916-17 school year, The Herald applauded Mabel Bates, a blind graduate of FSDB who began college at Florida State College for Women (FSCW).[42] Her attendance at FSCW dually indicated the open access to higher education for even blind graduates of FSDB but also the difficulties that such students must overcome. The byline stated the Bates studied French, Latin, English history, and biology, however, she had only been able to "secure through this school [FSDB] her French, Latin and history text-books."[43] It is unclear how she was able to study along with her classmates without the use of textbooks for her English and Biology classes.[44] Aside from the usual adjustments a first semester college student might have to make, Bates also had the issues of her disability as factor in her

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[40] Ibid., p. 6.

[41] Ibid., p. 48. The deaf students clearly had the best opportunities in no small part to the more recent efforts of deaf individuals and those who championed the cause of deaf individuals, such as the Gallaudet Family, Samuel Gridley Howe, among others.

[42] The Florida School Herald, 1916, p. 5; Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1905, p. 19. The Herald mentioned Bates in the opening bylines of the issue and the Biennial Report listed her as a student of the blind school hailing from Alachua County, Florida.

[43] The Florida School Herald, 1916, p. 5.

[44] It is unclear how FSDB provided textbooks for Bates. No other available sources corroborate the claim that FSDB provided the texts but it is possible that the printed material was brought to FSDB and the texts were copied in the New York Point system as would have been taught at FSDB at the time or FSDB actually had New York Point books for the particular classes in French, Latin and history.

ability to cope on campus. Unlike the FSDB students that articulated to Gallaudet College, blind students did not have a college to call their own that would have all the facilities and materials needed for their study.

The development of a Deaf culture and their political cohesiveness that led to the development of Gallaudet College surely made the process easier for deaf students to articulate to higher education. Though such articulation was possible for blind students, the process seemed less amenable without a complementary institution like Gallaudet. The efforts of Samuel Gridley Howe, in the 1860s, to develop a national higher education institution never came to pass.

Even at FSDB, blind higher education did not receive the same kind of attention placed upon that of deaf students. In 1906, when Abbie Goff graduated FSDB and matriculated into Gallaudet, the news appeared in many locations: local newspapers printed the story, The Herald expressed joy for the event, and other required institutional reports contained the news. However, a similar response for Mabel Bates' accomplishment yielded no analogous fanfare.

This reaction may be a result of the unintended bias of printed material coming from FSDB. Clearly, the bulk of the material printed within the pages of the Florida School Herald focused on the deaf student because these were the students printing the literature and as could be best ascertained, the Herald was not printed in New York Point to make it available to the blind students. In addition, the news of a blind student articulating was no longer big news as the first students had longer since graduated back in 1898 and the first deaf student articulated in 1906. By 1916, the articulation of deaf students to Gallaudet had become commonplace, if not expected, within the academic curriculum. Had more people understood the task handed to Mabel Bates compared to the experience of deaf college attendees, perhaps the event would have garnered greater attention.

The Black Students of FSDB

By 1910, the students numbered 70 with eleven teachers.[45] Interestingly, this is only the report of the white students. In fact, the picture referenced in Kerr only shows the white students as well as white faculty. Kerr also provided a 1911 picture that once again only shows white students and faculty.[46]

Throughout the years, FSDB had always reported that the school for the black students provided the same material and instruction but in separate location. However, the effort and care dedicated to the black students might be best demonstrated by the schools result for such students. FSDB would not graduate its first black student until 1925 - Cary White, who remained employed at FSDB as a house-parent and teacher until 1969.[47] There is no evidence to show that any black students went on to higher education. In general, the evidence of what became of the black students of FSDB after leaving the institution is virtually non-existent with the extraordinary exception of the information about Cary White, whose life became very closely tied to the school.

During the 1910-11 school year, FSDB constructed a new kitchen facility creating separate cooking areas for black and white students. FSDB increased its infrastructure by also constructing separate instructional facilities. The spirit of the 1895 Sheat's Law attacking racial co-education appeared to be alive and well in part of the President's report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The President was very quick to point out that the preparation of food for the blacks at the school was no longer done in the main kitchen:

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[45] Kerr, 1985, p. 172.

[46] Ibid., p. 173.

[47] Ibid., p. 176.

> This has been changed and a culinary department is maintained at the negro school. Although this school is on the same lot with the white school no connection otherwise countenanced. The negroes are kept within their yard bounds and have their own teachers and are cared for in every way apart from the white school. . . No industrial training is given to the pupils of this school. This we hope to provide for when room and finances permit.[48]

This passage was literally one third of the text devoted to mention of the black school in the 1908 Biennial Report of the Superintendent of FSDB. While the attention devoted to the issue of black students was scant, the mere mention does point to improved conditions for the black students relative to the infrastructure. Other mention of the black students usually appeared in the list of needs for the school calling for such things as greater funding to provide industrial training or construction of new (and separate) facilities. The needs of the black students did not go completely ignored but it is apparent that FSDB devoted significantly more attention to the needs of whites than those of the black students. Industrial training was not introduced for the black students until 1910, the same year the black school moved to a new building and "a new epoch in the history of this department."[49]

While the black students had the opportunity to study at FSDB with increasingly more similar curricula to the white students and the administration emphasizes that the rules and

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[48] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1908, p. 186. It is likely the President attempted to use the report to the Superintendent as a way of asking for further appropriations to build more structures for the black students as he had done in the past with please for making the school more fire safe.

[49] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, 1910, p. 197. As other Biennial Reports, this section about the black school was scant yet decidedly positive in the presentation of new opportunities.

regulations for both school were identical, the priority of the school clearly favored the white students. The experiences of both students could not be equivalent because of differences in the curriculum and access to infrastructure. Financially, it may have been more advantageous use of resources to construct facilities without duplicating their efforts; however, social custom and state law demanded separation of the races. Florida was unique in that they maintained their school with the races populating the same campus although they were physically apart. Other states, such as Virginia, created completely separate schools scores of miles apart. This was the more typical arrangement in other states to have completely separate schools altogether.

Sports at FSDB

Organized sports were among the first major recreational efforts of FSDB. Before this era in FSDB, there generally were too few resources or staff to provide such activities for the students.[50] The sports programs at FSDB started with the football team but would later add: basketball, track and field, wrestling, tennis, volleyball, softball, and swimming in the following decades.[51] Eventually, these teams would encompass the diversity of school by gender and race but that would be long years in the making.

In 1913, Odie Underhill, a teacher of the deaf department, organized a football team, which started playing local public

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[50] FSDB introduced sports more than 20 years after its opening. This is late in its historical development. The Alabama School for the Deaf and Blind, founded in 1858, began its baseball program in 1870 – just 12 years after being founded. Alabama School for the Deaf and Blind. "AIDB – History." http://www.aidb.org/overhview/history.asp (1 March 2004).

[51] Kerr, 1985, pp. 120-170.

schools.[52] Underhill and the maintenance supervisor, Sam Boggs, played as members of the team because of the small enrollment of boys and the team being limited to only the deaf white boys. This was an early start to a history of sports at FSDB that would grow tremendously in the decades ahead.

FSDB organized a football team probably in deference to the Gallaudet Bison, who forever changed the face of football. Gallaudet Quarterback Paul Hubbard introduced the huddle in 1894 to secretly use sign language to communicate plays and prevent others from stealing the signals.[53] Since 1894, the huddle became an indispensible part of the game as deaf and hearing continued to play.[54]

FSDB in Print

While FSDB had yet to distinguish itself in the realm of sports, the school had few peers with its ability to produce high quality printed material. As the school received a more substantial appropriation to pursue a wider curriculum, that often included articulation of students to higher education, incorporated recreational sports, provided greater fire safety, retain a larger and more qualified faculty, the school also upgraded its facilities. Perhaps the most discussed improvement to the school was the upgraded printing equipment – at least as discussed among the deaf and blind schools.

In 1913, The Wisconsin Times recognized "The Herald as one of the best arranged and printed papers in the l.p.f." and the Virginia Guide wrote "the paper is printed in a new press, in a new office, in a new industrial building . . . splendid modern structures with modern equipment, and the school may now be said

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[52] Ibid., p. 120.

[53] Fred Bowen, "The Score," The Washington Post, 6 October 2000.

[54] Ibid.

to be complete in all its departments."[55] FSDB earned high praise from its counterparts nationwide especially for its printing work. This is partly because of access to better equipment purchased through a larger appropriation and the expertise of printing instruction.

Chapter Commentary

This period in the development of FSDB may be best described as maturity. FSDB provided more and more to its students, earning considerable recognition, at home and nationwide. By 1917, FSDB had earned the confidence of the legislature and the supporting Board of Control as an indispensable educational facility representing vital state interest. Even in the earlier years of his tenure, it was clear that President A. H. Walker had a great deal of responsibility in this maturation process. He oversaw a great number of modifications to the campus including: an addition of 5.7 acres in 1911, the addition of a black culinary department to completely separate the cooking functions for the races, the erection of a $75,000 administration building in 1910, and the addition of a trades building and infirmary for $37,500 in 1912. In addition to the increased facilities and infrastructure, FSDB experienced a vast expansion of student enrollment and the corps of faculty and staff that often forced the school to operate beyond its intended capacity.[56]

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[55] The Florida School Herald, 1913, p. 5. Being a fairly new school, FSDB advanced quickly in printing because its advanced equipment and expert instruction. According to North Dakota's The Banner FSDB had become an "example." L.P.F. refers to Little Paper Family, an organization of newspapers from the residential schools for the deaf that started around 1849 and developed an editorial association around 1893 – Fred R. Murphy, "Little Paper Family-An Unique Organization." Deaf American 25 (April 1973): 11-12.

Though Walker may have been directly responsible for a great deal of the modernization and enhancements made to campus, he never forgot those who helped to pave the way or the children for whom the work was done.[57] From his 1910 report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, President Walker wrote:

> I beg to make special acknowledgment of the provision made by recent legislatures for he upbuilding of the school. The Stet Board of Control are to be heartily commended for the unvarying care that they have given every interest of the school.
>
> For your continued consideration, counsel and confidence you have my thanks.
>
> So long as we may be assured of this 'oneness of aim' in our corps of teachers and officers, of this assistance of those around us, of this provision of our legislatures, and the zeal on the part of the State Board of Control and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, so long will the efforts put forth to educate our children of "silence and darkness" under Divine guidance be crowned with success.[58]

Under Walker's tenure, it appeared that FSDB had achieved a successful coronation. FSDB won a hard fought battle to clear its besmirched name. FSDB reclaimed the trust of the legislature and found itself much closer in the fold of state institutions

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[56] Kerr, 1985, p. 42; Biennial Report, 1908, p. 186; St. Augustine Evening Record (Florida), 4 February 1910; St. Augustine Evening Record (Florida), 8 March 1912.

[57] St. Augustine Evening Record (Florida), 20 September 1912.

[58] Biennial Report, 1910, p. 201.

under the Buckman Act. The crown jewel had been reset by Walker’s skilled hand.

CHAPTER 6

FINAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This final chapter serves as a review of the preceding five providing a final opportunity to comment on the institutional developments of FSDB between 1883 and 1917 as well as other developments in the landscape of issues related to special education. While this work artificially separates the full span of consideration into smaller spans of time to highlight certain developments in each, together they serve the purpose of identifying larger themes that span the entire time of interest in this study of FSDB.

Throughout its development, FSDB faced many issues. Perhaps the triumvirate of most serious issues that the institution faced consisted of: the socially accepted ideas about people with disabilities, the harsh criticism regarding mismanagement and abuse levied against the school, and inadequate funding and resources to provide for an infrastructure. By 1905, FSDB had quashed any ideas of cruelty toward its students and mismanagement at the hands of school faculty and staff. By this time, the legislature finally provided an adequate level of funding that allowed the school to pursue an even wider range of activities for the students. However, funding for FSDB was still below that of most other schools for the deaf and blind. The struggle to demonstrate their students as functioning and productive members of society was still a continuing battle. This was not just an issue for FSDB but for deaf and blind Americans across the country.

The decision to bar deaf workers from civil service positions in 1906 indicated that Americans were not yet ready to regard those with disabilities as qualified workers or even capable citizens. Despite the work of champions who had long led the cause: Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, William Bell Wait, Samuel Gridley Howe, Alexander Graham Bell, among others, there was still a long battle to be waged for those with disabilities. New leaders emerged to pick up where others had left off. These new leaders often came from among the disabled themselves including: Helen Keller, the growing body of instructors of the deaf or blind who were themselves deaf or blind, and the other deaf and blind activists who pushed for the creation of new schools.

The decades preceding the founding of FSDB saw the creation of many schools for the Deaf and Blind. Most were created by concerned activists, while some were created by state systems. In the case of Florida, the state's school began with some activism from T. H. Coleman, a graduate of both the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind School and Gallaudet College. As the movement spread into the states and territories to the west, more deaf individuals were involved in the creation of schools.[1] Winzer notes that despite the lack of a central authority, "the schools were strikingly similar in philosophy and practice: all took their cues from the American Asylum, considered the epicenter of the North American education of the deaf."[2]

Like the creation of deaf schools, the majority of the schools were started by similar activists yet the blind movement had two important differences: there was no epicenter of the movement and the blind schools began opening later than their deaf school counterparts. Development of the first blind school

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[1] Winzer, 1993.

[2] Winzer, 1993, p. 102.

started in 1832, 15 years after the opening of the American Asylum for the Deaf in Connecticut.

The deaf schools and blind schools started chiefly in northern states: New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania opening the earliest schools. The first deaf and blind school opened in Virginia in 1838, some 45 years before FSDB. Interestingly, the first deaf and blind schools, catering to the education of both types of disability jointly, appeared in the South including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Florida. The schools founded later, appearing in the West, tended to open as deaf and blind schools.

External Forces Influencing Institutional Operation

There were many issues that faced FSDB and the field of special education, in general, during the span of this study but two major issues that warrant the most attention in closing this work are: first, the climate in which FSDB developed, especially the pressures of operating under accusations of mismanagement and cruelty and secondly, the creation and existence of a unique culture among the deaf and its bearing on historical developments as well as the creation of literature on the topic.

The Climate of the Development of FSDB

Like any other state institution, FSDB operated within a set of parameters as a function of the political climate. In the late 1880s into the early 1890s, after the first term of Governor Bloxham, when Florida looked toward other financial priorities such as the Yellow Fever scares, FSDB went virtually unnoticed by the State. Following this period, attention turned back toward FSDB but this time in a more negative and critical manner, questioning the management abilities of the school's leaders and charging the school with cruelty against its students. It

appears that this line of attack may have been aimed at removing the school from the care of the state if not ending its existence entirely. Tyack and Cuban would have us consider, "if the schools are supposed to solve social problems, and do not, then they present a ready target."[3] Perhaps those who were unhappy with liberal government spending in Florida simply viewed FSDB as a misappropriation of funds and sought to discredit the institution.

Another reason for such attacks on such a school lay, perhaps, in the psyche of Southerners. Like the rest of the South, some Floridians saw issues such as universal education as one of the holdovers from misrule during the Reconstruction period. C. Vann Woodward writes about the issues on the minds of Southerners emerging in the post-Reconstruction era:

> "But the conversion was never anywhere near complete. Full participation in the legend of irresistible progress, success, and victory could after all, only be vicarious at best. For the inescapable facts of history were that the South had repeatedly met with frustration and failure. It had learned what it was to be faced with economic, social, and political problems that refused to yield to all the ingenuity, patience and intelligence that a people could bring to bear upon them. It had learned to accommodate itself to conditions that it swore it would never accept, and it learned the taste left in the mouth by the swallowing of one's own words. It had learned to live for long decades in quite un-American poverty, and it had learned the equally un-American lesson of submission."[4]

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[3] David Tyack and Larry Cuban, Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 14. Tyack and Cuban have provided guidance in considering the changes that accompany the tireless and incessant string of public education reforms.

[4] C. Vann Woodward, The Burden of Southern History, Revised Edition (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 190.

Despite the elements that remained deep in the psyche of the Southerners and attempts to revert to life in the antebellum period, eventually the liberalization of social and political issues came to pass in Florida, even in education. Compulsory education and a large state-spending component related to education became a fact in the State.[5] Those who sought such changes saw defeat and delay along the way but kept an optimistic attitude of forging ahead and eventually emerged victorious. The issue may be comparable to the movement to allow deaf individuals to compete for civil service positions whose attitude is exemplified by a brief article that appeared in the American Annals of the Deaf: "We hope the bars will not be up long; that the incoming administration at Washington will rule differently."[6] Such a day had been a long time coming. One of the first reports of deaf seeking civil service appeared in the 1885 American Annals of the Deaf when R. D. Graham reported to the readers that the Civil Service Commission had made its first decision to bar deaf individuals from Civil Service ranks.[7]

Culture of the Deaf and Blind and Academic Literature

A significant and unintentional outcome of residential schools such as FSDB may have been to aid the creation of a Deaf culture, though the same may not be true for blind students educated in such schools. Source after source describes the historical creation and promulgation of Deaf culture while most historical sources about blind individuals recount personal and anecdotal information, not necessarily demonstrative of an

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[5] Foster and Foster, 1999.

[6] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, "No Civil Service for the Deaf." The Florida School Herald 8 (April 1908): 2.

[7] R.D. Graham, "The Civil Service Requirements." American Annals of the Deaf 30 (1995): 300.

emerging culture.[8] The eventual unfolding of the work of the Gallaudet family through Gallaudet College perhaps has had tremendous impact on the history of deaf people. Their school sought above all else that they must pursue "the furnishing of young men well fitted to teach the deaf and dumb."[9] Perhaps if the efforts of Samuel Gridley Howe to create a college for blind persons had come to fruition in 1869, a similar outcome may have awaited the blind.[10]

Today, issues related to both deaf and blind individuals have garnered attention in various professional journals and major publishing houses. While books on deaf issues appear regularly in print from Gallaudet University Press, there is no major press devoted solely to the issues of the blind. Gallaudet University Press churns out text after text on various Deaf issues, while other publishers complement the field with their efforts.[11] Issues of the blind appear haphazardly among the publishers. This situation brings out a dual effect: first, in contrast to the blind literature that of the Deaf is staggeringly voluminous and secondly, the material related to the blind is relatively less academically rigorous. Does this tend to indicate there is a better-defined culture among the deaf than the blind? Perhaps the volume of literature alone does not indicate such a situation. The depth and quality of the literature may tend to indicate greater cohesion and emergence of a culture among the deaf and not blind. This dissertation may

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[8] Georina Kleege, Sight Unseen (New Haven C.T.: Yale University Press, 1999)

[9] E.M. Gallaudet quoted in Winzer, 1993, p. 125.

[10] Winzer, 1993, p. 125. Since that time Blind persons have been incorporated into the traditional colleges and universities and "nothing more of a substantial nature was done for the blind in higher education." p. 125.

[11] Osgood, 2000; Buchanan, 1999; Brueggeman, 1999; Herring, 1999. All are examples of historical treatment of Deaf issues from Gallaudet University Press.

indicate this bias. This is not an intentional slant but a relic of available information and its quality. The sheer volume and quality of data allows research to bring out historical trends better when considering deaf issues opposed to blind issues.

Various authors throughout history have discussed the existence of a Deaf culture. Ladd provides an excellent overview of nine different perspectives that may tend to lend some credence to the existence of a Deaf culture while providing some counterarguments. This dissertation considers three of those perspectives enumerated by Ladd to demonstrate the strong evidence that points toward the existence of the Deaf culture without devolving into a headlong sociological debate.

From the normative perspective, Deaf culture is demonstrated in: "a set of learned behaviours and perceptions that shape the values and norms of Deaf people based in their shared or common experiences."[12] Within this perspective, each blind and deaf student from schools such as FSDB understood and shared common experiences and may have learned behaviors and perceptions that shaped norms. Collecting such things from sets of individual anecdotal stories of the blind may not truly represent a formalized culture as can be demonstrated in the more significant literature of the deaf and maintenance of formal institutions such as Gallaudet.

From the linguist perspective, Ladd adds, "ASL is the creation which grows out of the Deaf community. It is our language in every sense of the word. We create it, we keep it alive, and it keeps us and our traditions alive."[13] ASL represents a language unique to deaf individuals while the blind merely share language with mass culture. This may be the single

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[12] B. Kannapell, Materials for 'Culture and Communications Colloquium.' (Washington D.C: Gallaudet University, 1992). Work also cited in Paddy Ladd, Understanding Deaf Culture: In Search of Deafhood (Buffalo Multilingual Matters, 2003), p. 240.

[13] B. Kannapell, "Inside the Deaf Community." Deaf American 4 (1982): 21-27 quoted in Ladd, 2003, p. 241.

largest piece of evidence pointing toward as a separate and unique part of a larger culture.

Similarly, blind individuals in the past have lacked the symbols that guided their behavior as described in the Symbolist perspective. Ladd quotes Padden and Humphries who credit Geertz: "In Geertz' terms, the special condition of human beings is that their behaviors are guided by, indeed are dependent on, the presence of significant arrangements of symbols, which he calls 'culture.'"[14]

Ladd indicated there is a "goldmine for anyone wishing to develop symbolist approaches" and cites growth of Deaf folklore as further symbolist indication of culture.[15] Again, blind persons lack the same number of similar devices. Blind culture cannot be defined by references to visual impairment as "just silly ways of saying I don't see very well" or the similar retorts that are common to blind personal tales.[16]

Perhaps more modern mass culture using words such as 'legally blind' as it first appeared in the American Medical Association vernacular in 1934 or the wording of the Social Security act of 1935 may spark the development of a more cohesive organization of blind persons. Deaf individuals have had organizations such as the American Instructors of the Deaf since the early to mid 1800s, which often included deaf individuals themselves. These organizations offered publications devoted to issues related to deaf instruction and other general life issues. Deaf and blind schools also printed similar publications as part of the curriculum for the deaf. Many of these documents became a

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[14] C. Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (London: Hutchinson, 1973), and C. Geertz, Local Knowledge. (New York: Basic Books, 1983) cited in C. Padden and T. Humpries Deaf in America (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1988) quoted in Ladd, 2003, p. 241.

[15] Ladd, 2003, p. 241.

[16] Kleege, 1999, p. 10.

main source of information about the school, its students and its curriculum, but were often highly focused on the deaf students.

Although this paper does not take full treatment of each perspective offered by Ladd, the three mentioned here tend to lend further credence to the idea that a Deaf culture exists while demonstrating large holes in the idea that such may exist for the blind. The case for Deaf culture is not iron clad. Some contest the idea.

Ladd quoted Hurst to demonstrate how the deaf do not represent a culture:

> In strict anthropological terms, 'Deaf Culture' is not a culture. It cannot marry people, and you cannot guarantee that your children will be members of it. It has no independent value system or religious system that answers the deeper questions of the meanings of life or death. It does not stand alone, complete, and independent of other cultures. (Here it stands in parallel to 'women's culture', which is not a culture in the strictest sense either.)[17]

Clearly, professional opinions vary concerning the existence of Deaf culture. However, turning to the words of preeminent sociologist Emile Durkheim, there are further ideas that warrant consideration:

> Myths, popular legends, religious conceptions of all sorts, moral belief etc., reflect a reality different from the individual's reality; but the way in which they attract and repel each other, unite or separate, may nevertheless be independent of their content and may depend uniquely on their general quality as representations. . . We need to investigate, by comparison of mythical themes, popular

[17]J. Hurst, Memorandum to Task Force Report on American Sign Language and Deaf Studies (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University, 1992) quoted in Ladd, 2003, p. 246.

> legends, traditions, and languages, the manner in which social representations adhere to and repel one another, how they fuse or separate from one another.[18]

Durkheim also shows that physical proximity can act as a unifying cultural factor moving a group toward homogeneity; "growth in the volume and dynamic density of societies modifies profoundly the fundamental conditions of collective existence by rendering social life more intense, by extending the horizon of thought and action of each individual."[19] Essentially, proximity helps to foster interact and fuse a population when they live a life of common experience. The concentration of deaf individuals into deaf and blind schools coupled with increasingly common experience with the oralist structure, and a language that is increasingly more universal; the outcome appears inevitable.

Focusing in solely on the language of the deaf only further separates these individuals from larger society while cementing a commonalty among signing individuals. Not only does American Sign Language (ASL) constitute a separate and distinct form of communication from spoken English but ASL actually shares more with French because it is most closely aligned with the manual communication observed and brought back by Gallaudet.[20] Fusion of social life is also positively affected by "the development of lines of communications and transmission."[21] The more consistent developing ASL only further solidifies the ideas of burgeoning, if not already unique, culture.

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[18] Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, 2nd Edition quoted in Kenneth Thompson, Emile Durkheim (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1982), p.19.

[19] Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, 8th Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1938), p. 115.

[20] Baynton, 1996.; Gallaudet, 1983.

[21] Durkheim, 1938, p. 114.

The sociological debate aside, what is important for the purposes of this study is to demonstrate that historically, at the schools for the deaf and blind, information and other outputs tend to lean disproportionately to the side of deaf. Deaf and blind can be compared to the formal sense of the word 'culture' and we can see glaring differences in how well each can stand the litmus test of a culture. While the deaf and blind share an organization that offers the potential for the roots of a cohesive culture, the deaf have appeared to develop more resources and opportunities to coalesce as a people. Ladd brands the deaf residential school and its oralist curriculum as well as the shared response to the teaching as major components of the creation of a Deaf culture. It is now only in the more recent times that this set of experiences among deaf students is recognized in data collected between 1945 and 1960 and that "many of the dynamics may well apply to the period of 1880-1945."[22] The "ritualized humiliation" of oralism was dominant for decades and remained in the curriculum even past its period of dominance, as combined curricula became the norm.[23] Oralism would dominate from the 1920s into the 1970s adding to its effects in production of culture.

If there is a lesson to learn, administrators, educators, and policy makers related to deaf and blind schools must recognize historical biases and historical roots of the development of culture on campus and learn to enhance the environment for all students without negatively affecting the experience of any particular part of the student body. That is not to say that ritualized humiliation ought to be instituted to elicit cohesion among the blind but that stakeholders recognize that a positive experience the deaf shared in their often secret

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[22] Ladd, 2003, p. 297.

[23] Ibid., p. 303.

manual communication may be the true root of cohesion among that group.

Institutional Administrative and Academic Structure

FSDB started from typical origins for a school founded somewhat later in the history of deaf and blind school development in the United States. Many deaf and blind schools were in operation in the States by 1883 when T. H. Coleman started his push to open FSDB. Coleman was graduated from both SCSDB and Gallaudet. Gallaudet often expected its graduates to become leaders of the Deaf culture and Coleman footed this bill quite satisfactorily as a D&B school founder. Even as a leader among the movement to address educational issues for deaf and blind children, Coleman did not wield much power. Coleman accomplished his goal of starting a school in Florida by relying heavily on the political support of Governor Bloxham and the deference to the authority of E. M. Gallaudet. This origin in the hierarchy of power may have set the precedent for the balance of power through the initial 25 years of the school's history.

Under the first several leaders of the school, none of the administrative heads of the school appeared to wield much political power but, by 1906, Walker bucked this trend. Walker prevailed where other superintendents failed. He brought in and skillfully managed resources that the school desperately needed.

Walker followed in the footsteps of predecessor William Hare in providing a good public image of the school. Hare knew the war against charges of mismanagement and abuse were for the life of the school which is why he pursued public appearances and public notices in the school paper as well as the local newspaper. It was also under Hare that the only publicly aired charge of abuse arose which named a specific instructor and a student victim. The original charges appeared in the St. Augustine Record but the resolution of this charge did not find its way to print. No matter the outcome of the situation, the

mere appearance of apathy to the situation probably played a role in the downfall and disappearance of Hare. At a time when such charges were levied against FSDB, Hare continued to ask for additional funds for the school without making a serious attempt to address the charges.

As head administrator, Walker, who succeeded where Hare could not, brought dynamic ambition to the role with his lead in all levels of the school. He was a man who had the appearance of taking his job much more seriously than his predecessor, a man of persuasion and leadership through example. He served as editor of The Herald, practiced his usual duties of sending reports to the Superintendent, offered leadership to professional organizations, led teams to professional conferences, and oversaw the massive expansion of the school's buildings and grounds. Later in his career, Walker hosted several visiting dignitaries at the school including Warren Harding as President-elect in 1921 and again as the 39th President in 1923.[24]

Walker led a large contingent of faculty and staff to the 1914 Conference of the Association of the Instructors of the Deaf and served as a director for the association. The leader of FSDB realized that it was a matter of showing the public the fortitude and good of the institution while making a mark on the profession. The political strength of the school paid off, earning consistent praise from other schools, and mention of its alumni in virtually every issue of the convention report or reprints from its own Herald. Walker also made the calculated addition to the reports that appeared in the biennial report and provided sometimes overly optimistic lists of needs required by the school for smooth operation. Perhaps this action came out of the early calls for changes in heating and lighting that would promote fire safety on campus. Such pleas went unanswered for decades but eventually paid great dividends for the schools

[24] Kerr, 1985, pp. 179-80.

infrastructure and the confidence of prospective students' parents.

Final Note on Blind and Deaf Curricula

Most authors agree that the late 19th century into the early 20th century was the last great stand of the oralist movement. Baynton (1996) tells us that "nearly 40 percent of American deaf students were taught without the use of sign language" and that number doubled to 80 percent by the end of the First World War with oralism remaining prevalent in use until the 1970s.[25]

While oralism remained, the combined method dominated in the deaf schools. Most notably, despite the continued practice of oralist instruction, "the larger goals of the oralists were not achieved – the deaf community was not unmade, and sign language continued to be used within it."[26] Some have argued that the forced existence of oralism brought many students of the residential schools closer together and created the seeds of the Deaf culture. However, what began under the duress of oralism solidified with the standardization and widespread acceptance of manual communication.[27]

The blind students never had the same effects from their curriculum. At a time when the deaf students had the constant presence of oralist, the blind students muddled through various types of tactile textbooks. When the deaf students were entering the field of printing, the schools doubted the benefits of musical education for the blind students. When deaf students were setting their sights on Gallaudet, blind students found themselves alone and ill equipped for higher education, often lacking proper texts and support. The blind students fell into

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[25] Baynton, 1996, pp. 4-5.

[26] Ibid., p. 4.

[27] Winzer, 1993; Ladd, 2000; and Banyton, 1996.

the shadow of the accomplishments of the deaf students in every sense of their education. Even in their struggle to find meaningful employment, inclusion or integration of blind individuals in the workplace lagged well behind that of the deaf. Calls for employment of the deaf in the civil service appear before 1880 while such discussion about blind employment arose around the turn of the century.

The growing rift between the instruction of the deaf and blind had an opportunity to mend fences and bring together their education with that of the feebleminded nearing the turn of the century. However, staying true to the original mission, many schools, such as FSDB, steered clear of bringing mentally handicapped children into their fold.

The threat of mentally handicapped pupils clouding the mission of the deaf and blind schools was not the peril. The idea of inclusion or 'mainstreaming' deaf and blind students rapidly developed since the early 20th century. Inclusion sought to place special needs students into traditional classrooms. In later years, some states saw mainstreaming as a way to cut the budget by allowing the closure of residential deaf and blind schools.[28] Inclusion moved slowly. Any serious efforts did not materialize until the 1950s but by the 1990s, roughly 80 percent of deaf pupils would be instructed in local public schools.[29] Despite the protest from deaf individuals, "deaf children are denied the solid and tangible fellowship, culture, language, and heritage of the deaf community" for the sake of "liberating" them from their separation.[30] Baynton demonstrates that many deaf individuals equated the "total inclusion" movement to that of oralism because both are steeped in the ideas of "normality" and teaching deaf students to function in a hearing world. After the

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[28] Baynton, 1996, p. 152.

[29] Baynton, 1996.

[30] Baynton, 1996, p. 154.

proliferation of legislation and court cases related to special education in the 1960s and 70s, some saw inclusion as a new way to access an equal education and special services in the traditional setting.[31] While FSDB has not fallen victim to the inclusion movement, there has been a small expansion of the role of the school by undertaking some special needs students over the years.

Whether it was the stigma of disability, actually remaining true to the original purpose of educating only those considered most responsive to education, or trying to avoid a situation of being forced to take on more students with little or no increase in appropriations, FSDB continued its consistent call for more resources. Despite the constant turnover in faculty, despite the lack of infrastructure, despite being prostrate to Sheat's Law, the calls continued. It may be no accident that such calls seem to be answered as the home of FSDB was made permanent in St. Augustine in 1905 by an act of the legislature. Many of the issues that plagued the school also seemed to subside: infrastructure was built, the tenure of faculty and staff became more stable, the school gained more land and in general the school had less of an immature and tentative air about it. The beginning of the maturation process may be best demarcated by the finalization of the school's name in 1909.

By Any Other Name. . .

FSDB contended with persistent, if not unwarranted, changes to the institution's name. FSDB started in 1883 with the name 'Institute for the Deaf, Blind and Dumb.' In 1903, the legislature changed to 'Florida School for the Deaf, Blind, and Dumb.' With the passage of the Buckman Bill, the name was change

[31] Edwin W. Martin, Reed Martin, and Donna L. Terman, "The Legislative and Litigation History of Special Education." The Future of Children, Vol. 6, No. 1, (2000): 25.

to the Institute for the Deaf and Blind. Finally, the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind in 1909. In no way did the name changes reflect any substantive change in the mission of the school. FSDB had perennially looked after the education of deaf and blind children of Florida between the ages of 5 and 21 from its inception. Instead, the name changes may be more indicative of power games played in the public arena of management of the educational system statewide. The name changes may also demonstrate that while FSDB always had a hand in the direction that its school took, the school often was no more than a small boat adrift on a turbulent sea. The school's administration often had to acquiesce to prevailing conditions in terms of political climate, social climate, trends in curricular practices, and a host of other externally controlled circumstances.

Institutional Student Life and Instruction

From the beginning of the school, students did not receive much attention themselves in the pages of the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction or the Report of the President of FSDB. As contact grew between the school and the larger community new opportunities arose. The printing of The Herald on the campus and the local favorite, The St. Augustine Evening Record quickly adopted the practice of listing events that were attended by or showcased FSDB students, especially local music recitals and sporting events. The Herald was launched as an institutional tool to teach students the trade of printing but it became a tool to disseminate information about the school closely monitored by its editors, usually the head school administrator and the head instructor of printing.

On the other hand, The Record was outside the editorial control of the school. The owner of The Record, Henry Flagler, who had long shown sympathy toward the school, never appeared to

run more that one story that shed unfavorable light on the school. The paper ran a story about an instructor being charged with beating a student unnecessarily.[32] It is unclear what the outcome of this incident was but the charges coincided with times in which FSDB had been charged with abuse and mismanagement.

While some alleged the whipping received by the son of Mr. and Mrs. Bartola Pacetti was "unnecessarily severe," the instructor maintained that he "chastised the boy, but not severely, for failing to comply with the rules of the institute."[33] This appeared to be the only documented case of abuse as the charges were levied. But were there other issues that may have led to such charges? Perhaps others in the deaf education community recognized the dangers of their schools decades earlier.

Marquis L. Brock wrote in the 1883 American Annals of the Deaf:

> The venom of party malice never penetrated a recess more sacred or polluted a shrine more holy than a deaf and dumb institution. If these schools are to become the spoils of the victor, exhibited, like the drugged babes of mendicant organ grinders, to extort money from a generous public, the sooner the inmates are turned out and the building reduced to ashes the better for unfortunate humanity and the rights of the tax payers. In order to obviate this danger, one rule in the management of State educational charities ought to be rigidly adhered to. Let both parties be fully and honorably represented in the board of directors, in the faculty, and in the commissary.[34]

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[32] St. Augustine Evening Record, 22 November 1901, p. 1.

[33] Ibid., p. 1.

[34] Marquis L. Brock, "Politics in the Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb." American Annals of the Deaf 28 (1883): 237.

Brock essentially warned that without the best qualified individuals in the schools and diligence in maintenance of the image of the school, they were just a couple of votes away from being torn down under the will of the taxpayers. Given that assertion, it seems likely that the issue washed away without further incident suggesting that the issues of abuse may have been unfounded from the start and any administration of corporal punishment proper.

Over the years, FSDB employed many methods to introduce its students to the world outside of school. When the reputation of FSDB seemed to be tarnished, the school turned to musical efforts of its students and campus tours. When the recreational life of America had begun to open just after the turn of the century, FSDB turned to sport.[35] As FSDB brought in more resources, the administration could afford to supply sporting goods. The time students once spent working on campus could now give way to sports and play. Eventually, FSDB would offer virtually every sport at other traditional schools from track to football to swimming – for both black and white students.[36]

For decades, FSDB dealt with a constantly increasing enrollment despite a static infrastructure, which often caused overcrowding. The state often provided capital outlays to build on campus or expand land holdings. This, however, was usually part of a game of 'catch-up' and increases in the amount of building space were frequently insufficient. Some times, FSDB appeared to reap some reward for attracting more and more students; other times it appeared that funding or building just barely kept up with the demand related to student growth. FSDB was growing its student body but not until 1905 did it appear that the school began to adequately develop to fit its student

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[35] Pamela Grundy, Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth Century North Carolina, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

body. Around this time, there was a growing expectation of the state to provide more access to education. Responding to citizen pressures increased its financial commitment to education allowing greater resources to meet more needs and wants of the school.

Education was once pushed under the Bloxham administration in the early 1880s but the subsequent governors sought to undermine the liberality demonstrated by Bloxham. Despite their efforts, FSDB consistently enjoyed a growing student population serving more and more children of the state. Although they could not ignore the pressures of Sheat's Law and the school remained segregated, the school continued its ever-improving curriculum. When the curriculum turned to technical education, printing proved a successful route for the deaf and the blind continued their search unable to find their employment panacea in music performance. Undeniably, there were twists and turns in the student life and curricular development at FSDB over the years; it is however, no accident that under his second administration, Bloxham once again ensured that FSDB, a hallmark of his first term, again received proper attention.

Concluding Thoughts

The history of FSDB was fraught with issues at odds with one another in all areas of the institution. Even the curriculum had to face the debate of oralism versus manualism. The deaf themselves were nearly non-participants in this battle that essentially was waged among academics and instructors of the deaf.

Financially, the State constantly made the arguments of weighing the necessity of the deaf and blind school versus the needs of other potentially more pressing issues of other state priorities such as public health threats. Between the years of

[36] Kerr, 1985.

1887 and 1895, a statewide education system was sometimes treated like a public liability (if not outrightly called such in public reports).

FSDB even brought questions of differential treatment of the black and white students. From the start, FSDB made extraordinary efforts to demonstrate that the school maintained complete separation of the black and white students. Does this show FSDB to be a socially conservative device related to racial issues? Is the school a means to a moderate social change? Perhaps it serves both purposes. Even T. H. Coleman would recognize the rocky past of South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind in dealing with racial issues. Separation of the races was a social requirement for nothing short of operation of the school.

Just to ensure the status quo of customary operations of race relations, legislators enacted Sheat's Law among other pieces of legislation. While the law enraged many liberal minded individuals including educators in missionary schools running in Florida and vociferous citizens of Boston who flooded magazines and newspapers with editorial pieces, not all citizens were so quick to react negatively to the law. This "legal segregation was not an overnight development in post-Reconstruction Florida. . . lawmakers cautiously approached the establishment of de jure segregation. . . but once the movement had begun it spread rapidly into every sector of social life within the state."[37] This de jure separation remained even after WWI when blacks fought and died for their country.[38] A more equal existence would be slow coming. The Brown v. Board decision and the Civil Rights Acts of the 1960s were decades away at the close of this

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[37] Wali R. Kharif. "Black Reaction to Segregation and Discrimination in Post-Reconstruction Florida." Florida Historical Quarterly 64 (October 1985): 162.

[38] Emmett J. Scott. Scotts' Official History of the American Negro in the World War, 1919 (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

historical account and quite possibly unimaginable to turn of the 20th century Floridians.[39]

FSDB had taken its place in the battle between those who sought support and acceptance for the deaf people (if not the culture) and those who saw threat from deaf populations and tried to develop their own agenda of Eugenics. The 1890s saw the development of a fight for deaf people to have access to civil service jobs. These were not menial jobs through which the deaf could eek out a living but were often more substantial positions. The ability to enter more professional areas would have been a major victory for the deaf individuals but that round was lost. Eventually, they would gain the access they sought but not until after a hard fought battle. Perhaps it was the work of deaf students in printing that others first noticed and thus demonstrated the ability of deaf individuals to function and support themselves through the fruits of their own labor. Much like the history of the African-American, it would be a matter of waging a long and arduous battle including social activism, legislation, and court decisions that would lend greater access to a more socially acceptable spot in society.

The idea that started with just keeping these individuals from being a burden on society eventually saw individuals in high skill jobs and as highly productive members of society within a matter of decades. The focus started with the deaf white men, especially those who sought further education in Gallaudet. Rigidity of mores also appeared in the gender issues. Those too were part of a different struggle that most would maintain still rages. The more recent turbulence of the struggle appears in the legislation that emerged and the court cases that were decided over the last several decades.

Two of these seminal court cases decided include Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (PARC) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1971) and Mills v. Board of

[39] Brown v. Board of Education, Brown v. Board of Education, 347

Education (1972).[40] In the PARC case, the association challenged a Pennsylvania state law that denied service to children "who have not attained a mental age of five years" by the time of enrolling for first grade.[41] PARC established the standard of providing that "each child be offered an education appropriate to his or her learning capacities."[42] In the Mills case, a suit was brought on behalf of several disabled children, whom DC schools refused to enroll or expelled because of lack of funds to meet their special needs. Mills determined that children had "an equal right to public education offered in a form that was meaningful to them." In addition, the case defined some procedural protections for students regarding changes in their status, notice of proposed changes and access to legal counsel and academic records.[43]

The procedural developments seen in Mills v. Board of Education were incorporated into the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA) in 1975.[44] This act required that "all students with disabilities receive a free, appropriate public education and provided a funding mechanism to help with the excess costs."[45] Following the EACHA came the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1983 and a refinement in 1990. This law did not require participation but instead created a funding mechanism to target special needs of disabled students that starts with an evaluation and identification of

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U.S. 483 (1954).

[40] Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (PARC) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 334 F. Supp. 1257 (E.D. PA 1971) and Mills v. Board of Education, 348 F. Supp. 866 (1972).

[41] Martin, et al., 1996, p. 28.

[42] Ibid., p. 28.

[43] Ibid., p. 28.

[44] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[45] Ibid., p. 29.

appropriate needs.[46] IDEA incorporated procedural protections that elicit parent input and delineate due process. Other courts cases have helped establish the ideas of individualized education program and least restrictive environment.[47]

Years before IDEA came the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), which was the first federal attempt to directly subsidize services "to selected populations in public elementary and secondary schools."[48] The original ESEA did not spell out the grants specifically for those with disabilities but Congress did so in the next year with a refinement to the law.[49]

In 1973, Public Law 93 – 112, better known as The Rehabilitation Act passed. Section 504 of that law prohibited recipients of federal aid from discrimination against those with disabilities related to the offering of services but because there was no funding or monitoring, the law went mostly ignored.[50]

In 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) passed which "expanded the rights of people with disabilities by outlawing discriminatory practices in employment, public accommodations, transportation, and telecommunications."[51] ADA has become a primary "vehicle for litigation in special education" because it tends to provide even more remedies than IDEA.[52] ADA is not likely to be the end of the struggle to recognize those with disabilities as full participants in American society but one of the most recent steps in a long walk from antiquity.

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[46] Ibid., 31.

[47] Ibid., 34.

[48] Ibid., p. 26.

[49] Ibid., p. 27.

[50] Ibid., p. 29.

[51] Ibid., p. 29.

[52] Ibid., p. 29.

Contributions and Historiographic Issues Revisited

Given the current state of the literature of history of special education, this dissertation begins to fill the void of institutional histories and provides enrichment of the literature. Some authors provide a wide panoramic view of the field without catching the detail of the smaller stories such as institutional histories. Other authors examine the smaller issues in a case study format. Case studies are an excellent way to illuminate special circumstances in a particularistic realm but can often ignore or lack sufficient detail of the larger trends or background events that can otherwise provide an understanding of larger forces working to bring about exhibited changes. There are advantages and disadvantages of each approach. As the author moves closer to the subject and hones in on a narrowed range, the story becomes less generalizable and bias may infiltrate. The larger picture falls away yet the more minute detail becomes understandable. While the case studies help to illuminate minute detail of a particular situation, the issues can appear to be parochial and lacking in connection to the larger whole of education. However, those studies that paint broad overarching themes relating several examples to the larger ideas often lack the rich and full understanding of any one particular institution. Optimally, this dissertation will balance these ideals that appear to be at odds: particularistic versus comprehensive.

This dissertation draws from a wide array of sources in the traditional forms of historiographic research, the developing body of special education literature and other non-literature sources. Some of the most important literature comes the primary documents including The Herald, The Annual and Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. These documents offer glimpse into the past beyond just the information contained in the pages. The major authors of the field offer secondary

sources from which to extend analysis and make connections. Winzer, Baynton, Osgood, Longmore, and Umansky all provide works from which future studies will always find grounding. The multitude of unpublished theses and dissertations referenced here provide the inspiration to continue the trend to fill in the puzzle of the history of special education with each small piece. Some authors just help to clarify fine points or corroborate the questionable findings. In the end, each author helps to contribute to the singular aim to provide an unvarnished and fair recount of the history of FSDB using varied sources by carefully balancing and negotiating the input of each.

This dissertation also begins to fill a void in the current special education literature. In some ways this work is similar to the few works that already exist. First, many recognize that there is a paucity of current institutional histories from which to draw. Second, these similar works also rely upon primary documents heavily but also draw upon previous studies and secondary sources where available. Eventually, this fragmented collection of histories will find a place in the larger literature of the history of education within the realm of post-revisionism. It is likely the collection may splinter into its own identifiable branch of post-revisionism.

From Past to Present: Current Realities for FSDB

Few can argue that the history of FSDB is unimportant to the state of Florida or not essential to that of St. Augustine. From its inception, the school had been an "important asset to the community" becoming a vital employer in town by 1920, a boon to state as a successful social experiment in special education, and a benefit to the students who found an unexplored way of life.[53] No other institution in the state saw children through

[53] St. Augustine Historical Society Archive, FSDB Vertical File.

such an important journey in their lives as FSDB –from their "silence and darkness" to a place of greater opportunity, self-reliance and respect. That journey has led to a school today that flourishes when other schools have closed their doors or ended services due to lack of students or resources.

In stark contrast to the institutions that shrank or folded over these long years, FSDB has expanded its role by taking on special needs students including mentally handicapped who are deaf or blind, deaf-blind, and deaf or blind infants - absorbing most of these new charges into the blind department. The campus facilities now include 42 buildings on a 70-acre campus running on a $37.32 million dollar budget. The physical facility, the acreage, and budget make FSDB the self-reportedly largest school of its type in the United States.[54] Even with the massive expansion of facilities and development of new services, FSDB is still tuition free for Florida residents including room, board, and transportation at the state's expense. Some students attend mainstreamed classes offered in local St. Johns county public schools, helping to close the chasm between traditional and special needs students. The most dramatic of the changes at FSDB is the astounding growth of enrollment. In 1885, FSDB opened its doors to 11 students. Today, the 2003-2004 enrollment is 843 students including the new outreach program that serves visually impaired and hearing-impaired infants.[55] With the growth in the number of students, FSDB has also witnessed a dramatic increase in the articulation of students to post-secondary institutions. The school articulated its first deaf student to Gallaudet

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[54] Florida School for the Deaf and Blind, "About the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind." http://www.fsdb.k12.fl.us/about (2 March 2004); St. Augustine Record (Florida) 28 September 2003.

[55] St. Augustine Record (Florida) 28 September 2003. Enrollment numbers include 722 on campus students and the 122 infants served in the medical outreach program.

University in 1906 and its first blind student to Florida State in 1916, but by 2002-2003, FSDB sent over 75 percent of its graduating students to post-secondary institutions.

Today, many advances at FSDB overshadow even the grand dreams of the school's founder, Thomas Hines Coleman. Despite the changes, FSDB hasn't deviated much from the mission of preparing children for a fulfilling and productive life. So whether it is the purity of mission that lends itself to the success of FSDB, the legacy of skilled leadership or the ability of the school to artfully negotiate the changing external environment, FSDB has developed soundly from its meager beginnings. Whatever challenges lie ahead for the institution, FSDB is likely to meet them resolutely.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Douglas Mikutel earned a B.A. degree in economics from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. He earned a Master of Public Administration degree from the University of North Florida where he served as a research assistant to the MPA director. At Florida State University, Douglas earned an M.S. in Higher Education while serving as a Hardee Center Graduate Research Assistant. During these programs, Douglas interned with the Florida Institute of Education housed at UNF and several office of FSU.

After starting work at Florida State University, Douglas began working on the Ph.D. in History and Philosophy of Education. In the course of doctoral studies, he received several small grants and presented portions of original research at the Southern History of Education Society in Birmingham, Alabama. He also served as Instructor for the First Year Experience Course and Teaching Assistant for EDF 1005, Introduction to Education and was a contributing author to the, Dictionary of Education (Oryx Press, 2004).

During his work as Coordinator, Academic Support Services, Douglas also sat as a member of the University Committee for Retention - Subcommittee on Academic Integration, chaired the Advising First Retention Committee, and served as Staff Advisor to the Bahai Student Club. Douglas also won the Florida State University Advising Award for 2003-04.

Douglas and his wife, Rita, both plan to continue working in the area of academic affairs and hope to jointly write and research together in the future.